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THE TRUTH OF HISTORY.

LETTER FROM COL. R. J. HINTON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 25th, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

WILL THE STANDARD allow me sufficient space to correct a slight error into which that usually careful writer, A. D. Richardson, has fallen? I find, in the second part of his *Atlantic* article on "Free Missouri," this paragraph. Speaking of the effect of the troubles in Kansas on Missouri, Mr. Richardson says of the Kansas men:

"Some paid off old scores by aiding negroes to escape to Iowa. Dr. John Doy was escorting thirteen of these fugitives, when a Missouri band, without any legal process, captured him in Kansas, fifty miles from the line. He was hurried to St. Joseph, and tried for enticing away slaves—a felony whose extreme penalty was death. The indictment charged that the offence was committed in Missouri. The prosecution failed to prove that he had ever been within thirty miles of that State, yet the jury found him guilty. But one dark night, before he could be taken to the penitentiary, John Brown, with a few trusted comrades, crossed the river in a skiff, broke open the jail, rekidnapped Doy from his kidnappers, and bore him home in triumph."

There are two or three trifling mistakes of fact in the foregoing, but the correction I desired to make was in regard to John Brown's participation in the affair. Doy was kidnapped on the 25th of January, 1859. On the same day John Brown was in the neighborhood of Holton, a town in the north of Kansas, to which Doy was moving his company of fugitives. Captain Brown was escorting the eleven negroes whom, on the preceding Christmas day, he had rescued from slavery in Missouri. Capt. Brown went north with his prize; Dr. Doy was captured and taken to Weston, Mo., and from thence to Platte City, where he and his son lay in jail until the 24th of March. He was then taken to St. Joseph and placed on trial there. He was rescued on the night of the 23d of July, 1859, by a party of twelve men, all of them citizens of Lawrence, Kansas, the home of Dr. Doy. He was to have been removed next day to the Missouri penitentiary, at Jefferson City, to five years confinement in which he had been sentenced. The leader of the party was Maj. Abbott, a well-known free State man, who still resides in Douglas county. I cannot find the record I keep of their names, but know that among them was Mr. Stewart, known in Kansas as the "Fighting Preacher." He died in the army during the war. Joseph Gardner, also known as the "Fighting Quaker," was another. He was afterwards a lieutenant in the colored regiment of which I was adjutant, and was severely wounded in the first engagement fought during the rebellion by colored troops, in Butler county, Mo., October 26th, 1862. He died during the war at Fort Gibson, Indian Territory. Another member of the party was Mr. Willis, who still resides near Lawrence. Capt. Silas Soule, of the 1st colored volunteers, killed by a deserter in 1864, was another one of the party. I do not remember the other names. There was a photograph of the group taken at Lawrence on the arrival of the rescue party.

At the time this occurred (July 23d, 1859), John Brown was living on the Kennedy Farm, near Hagerstown, Maryland, which place he hired on or about the 30th of June, and from which his great raid on slavery was begun. I am able to fix this accurately from data and letters in my possession. Believing that everything in relation to the Hero of Harper's Ferry is of value, I have written to correct a little error, and give credit for a gallant deed to those to whom it is due. R. J. HINTON.

MISS MYRTILLA MINOR.

To the Editor of the Standard:

THE following sketch of a remarkable woman is from the pen of MISS EMILY HOWLAND, who began her own generous, devoted work in behalf of the colored people, in MISS MINOR's school, in Washington, ten years ago.

It was solicited for a *Report on the Schools of Washington*, soon to be presented to *Congress*.

Many readers of THE STANDARD, who may have visited this school at the Capital, or aided it, will welcome this little memorial of one whose zeal of spirit was a consuming fire to her frail body, whose enthusiasm pioneered, in the shadow of a negro-hating government, the great movement, since accepted as the chief educational work of the nation.

SALLIE HOLLEY.

MISS MINOR's father was a small farmer in Madison County, N. Y., and she, with many brothers and sisters, twelve in all, I believe, was reared in industry and frugality. Hop-growing was one of the pursuits of the country, and the season for picking them was an opportunity for the young men and maidens of that region to earn a little cash, of which she was not slow to avail herself. She once earned seventeen dollars in this way. Her educational advantages were limited to the district school. Her thirst for knowledge soon exceeded such limits, and how to get an education became the thought of her life. In her desperation she wrote to Gov. Seward, then Governor of the State, asking him if he could show her how it was possible for a woman, in her circumstances, to get a chance to become a scholar. He replied that he could not, but hoped a better day was coming, wherein woman might have a chance to be and to do to the extent of her abilities. She would not give up, but hearing of a school for girls on the manual labor plan, just opened, she applied for admission. Health having failed, she was accepted, with a promise to pay, after she should leave the school and earn enough, as teacher, to liquidate the debt.

She was taken thither on a bed, having a diseased spine, and a part of the time kept up with her classes without being able to leave her room.

A proposal to teach, in Mississippi, was accepted by her. Without means to replenish her wardrobe, she got credit and made purchases to meet her wants, when, on the eve of leaving home, she received word that the school would not open. This was a stunning blow. In debt, she knew not what to do, but decided to ask the merchants to take back all articles she *could* restore, and then resumed her plodding way for another year, when a call came from the South, which did not prove a deception. Now began the career which caused a sequel not intended by the principal of this Institution for the education of Planters' daughters. While in the South her soul was stirred to its depths by what she saw of slavery. She became so possessed with the subject that her mind grew morbid, and she wrote a friend that, weary of *words*, which affected nothing, if this friend would raise a few thousand dollars and put in her hands, she would undertake the liberation of the slaves! and believed she would succeed. After a residence, at this Mississippi school, of two years, the principal feared her outspoken feeling might endanger the prosperity of the school, and therefore parted with a valued teacher. But the feeling roused must find vent in working in some way for the oppressed. Hence the thought to found a Normal School for colored girls at the Capital of the nation. The Friend alluded to above (Ednah Mrs. Thomas) welcomed *this* plan, and wished her to wait until a suitable sum of money could be raised to begin the enterprise. The reply was, "I do not want the wealth of Crœsus in my pockets to begin." This Friend obtained $100, and with this sum Miss Minor embarked upon her new enterprise.

How she walked and talked to rouse the colored people to see the importance of what she wished to do; how out of school hours she begged money of members of Congress and Senators, or importuned writers for the press to visit and report, or how she spent her vacations interesting the benevolent, getting this aid, or in gathering the library of several hundred volumes, or obtaining the current literary magazines and papers to improve and enlighten, it were vain to attempt to tell.

All this and much more was done in weakness and in weariness of flesh, and her school became one of the places in the Capital to be visited. The President's carriage came often to be seen at the humble door, to bring Mrs. Means—an aunt of Mrs. Pierce—who was attracted by Miss Minor's euthusiasm. Such prestige held in check the hatred of the mob, which was threatening and troublesome. The city papers several times attempted to raise this lawless spirit against the struggling little Institution. But through all this spite and pro-slavery prejudice it lived and throve. Friends rallied to aid and make it permanent. Members of the Society of Friends, in Philadelphia and other places, gave largely to its founder. Among these Catharine Morris was a liberal donor, and a fine lot, with a small house was purchased for the school, and thither it was removed. Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe gave hearty sympathy and support to the work.

The school was composed of young girls from the well-to-do families of the city, and in refinement and intelligence compared favorably with any young ladies' school. The schools of the present time, in Washington, may have more technical drill, but I have never seen one its equal in spirit and aspiration.

So this zealous soul worked, till, with failing health and jaded powers, unwilling to resign the charge of her school to less competent hands, or to see the scheme carried out by methods not her own, she closed it and went to seek a recovery in California, returning only to lay aside the worn out body in the city which had been the scene of her trials and her triumphs.

EMILY HOWLAND.

IS CHARLES SUMNER A STATESMAN?—REVIEW OF HIS "WAR RECORD."

BY JAMES REDPATH.

NO. II.

BOSTON, March, 1868,

To the Editor of the Standard:

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

THE next subject of serious thought among the friends of the blacks related to the condition of these colored people after the war. Mr. Sumner's first practical dealing with that question was in February 1864, when a deputation of colored persons came from New Orleans asking Congress to give a qualified suffrage to them. They complained that they were coldly received by Mr. Lincoln, and consulted Mr. Sumner and Mr. Chase as to the course they should take. They had asked for suffrage for all colored men who could read and write. Mr. Sumner offered to present their petition in whatever terms it was drawn up; but recommended them, if they had authority to modify it, to broaden the prayer and ask for universal suffrage. Mr. Sumner was thus the first to take ground that no qualification of suffrage in the South should be permitted.

He waived at this time the sentiment of humanity and of right, and insisted that the ballot should be given to all, because it was only by the votes of all that we could counteract the rebel majorities. It had become now, in his view, not only a question of principle, but a mandate of necessity.

Mr. Sumner presented the petition, modified as he suggested, in February, 1864. There was no public discussion of the point at that time, as the subject was overshadowed by others more pressing—for we were then in the throes of war and its end was so little discernible that it was not till late next year that it was thought advisable to open the question in the Senate, except by presenting the petition.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

In February, 1863, Mr. Sumner presented resolutions declaratory of the purpose of our government to protest against any intervention by any foreign power. He took the ground that we were engaged in a war to put down slavery; that slavery was the animating principle of the rebellion, and that foreign powers could not mediate between us and the rebels without indirectly giving strength and succor to rebellion; that it was the duty of all foreign powers when any rebel agent approached them to tell them that their cause was unholy and wicked and that they ought to abandon it. These resolutions passed both Houses of Congress, and was and is regarded by many leading men as a great public act. They were communicated to all the governments where we had ministers.

Thus, again, the influence of the government was brought against slavery.

On the 10th of September, 1863, Mr. Sumner delivered his elaborate oration on our Foreign Relations to which Lord John Russell replied at Blair Gowrie, within two days after its arrival in England—a thing without precedent in English history. This speech was an elaboration of the idea that it was impossible for any civilized nation to recognize a power founded on slavery. It was made under peculiar circumstances. Mr. Sumner had information that led him to believe that the Confederate rams, then building in Glasgow, might be permitted to escape, and he felt assured that, if this was done, war would be declared between the United States and England. Mr. Seward had written a letter, and Mr. Adams had tried to stop those rams. During all that Summer everybody was kept in a state of anxiety about them.

Mr. Sumner, at the time, had a large correspondence with English leaders, and never hesitated to say that if the rams escaped to be employed in the rebel service, it would be equivalent to a declaration of war against the United States hardly less than the attack, at the beginning of the century, on Copenhagen—utterly unqualified; and that there was no principle of conduct that could look with tolerance on such an act. War seemed inevitable. In these circumstances, Mr. Sumner told his friends that as, from his position as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and his personal acquaintance with English statesmen, he could get a hearing in England, he would make an effort to avert it by a statement of the case as it was regarded in the United States.

This explanation will account for the spirit and strong statements of that speech. It contains a very complete development of all the principles governing foreign intervention and mediation, and a full statement of the true theory of belligerent rights—the fullest that had hitherto been attempted by any author or orator.

Maximilian had been offered the crown of Mexico, but did not enter the country till May, 1864. Yet Mr. Sumner, in September, 1863, clearly predicted the result of this intervention:

"It is obvious," he said, "that this imperial invasion, though not openly directed against us, would not have been made, if our convulsions had not left the door of the continent ajar, so that foreign powers may now bravely enter in. And it is more obvious that this attempt to plant a throne by our side would 'have died before it saw the light,' had it not been supposed that the rebel slave-mongers were about to triumph. Plainly, the whole transaction is connected with our affairs. *But it can be but little more than a transient experiment—for who can doubt that this imperial exotic, planted by foreign care, and propped by foreign bayonets, will disappear before the ascending glory of the Republic.* * * * The French Emperor seeks to play on this Continent the very part which of old caused the contrition of Maria Theresa; nor could the 'partition' of our broad country—if in an evil hour it were accomplished—fail to be the great crime of the present century. Trampler upon the Republic in France—trampler upon the Republic in Mexico—it remains to be seen if the French Emperor can prevail as trampler upon this Republic. I do not think he can; nor am I anxious on account of *the new Emperor of Mexico, who will be as powerless as King Canute against the rising tide of the American people. His chair must be withdrawn or he will be overwhelmed.*"

A LITERARY CONTRIBUTION.

In the same month Mr. Sumner published his monogram on Franklin in the *Atlantic Monthly*—contrasting the old philosopher with John Slidell in Paris—to show that France, in her early days, welcomed Benjamin Franklin—and now the question was whether Slidell could play the part of Franklin. It was "only another turn of the kaleidescope," as Mr. Sumner expressed it, when he spoke of it to a friend.

RECONSTRUCTION.

We come now to 1864.

During all that year the Republicans were laboring to bring about a reconstruction policy, and to get Missouri to emancipate. Mr. Sumner made one or two speeches on that subject. In the Autumn he made an elaborate oration at the Cooper Institute on Slavery and the Rebellion—still following out his idea of bringing the public mind to work on slavery, so that there should be no chance for its escape.

CIVIL RIGHTS.

During this year, also, the question whether there should be any exclusion from the witness-box on account of color was raised by Mr. Sumner in Congress. He put in the entering-wedge by a proposition that in the United States Courts there should be no such exclusion. Under the old rule the United States Courts adopted the rules of evidence in force in the States where the tribunals were held. On two separate motions, Mr. Sumner was defeated, as the Senate was not yet ready to come up even to this low mark.

In 1864, Mr. Sumner secured the appointment of a Senate Committee on slavery and the treatment of freedmen, of which he was Chairman, and had referred to it a bill to secure equality before the law in the Courts of the United States, and made an elaborate Report on the question of colored testimony in Courts. It was the first contribution in our country to the establishment of civil rights to the negro. The bill became a law.

During the same Summer Mr. Sumner reported, from this Committee, a bill to establish the Freedmen's Bureau, which was the beginning of the discussion of this great question in the Senate. The debate continued for several days. In the course of it Mr. Sumner made a speech, which was subsequently published under the title of "A Bridge from Slavery to Freedom."

At the same time—on the 17th of March—Mr. Sumner made another elaborate report for the repeal of all Fugitive Slave bills.

These reports are little volumes, and contain the best summaries of the slave codes of the South that have ever been made.

FRENCH SPOLIATIONS.

Notwithstanding these labors, Mr. Sumner found time to write another book, in the guise of a Report on French Spoliations—a complete history of these claims against our government for damages done to our commerce during the Revolutionary war.

EMANCIPATION WITHOUT COMPENSATION.

On the 8th of March Mr. Sumner made a speech in favor of emancipation without compensation on the question of the Constitutional Amendment, and took ground that although no amendment of the Constitution was needed, but at the same time he was perfectly willing to put anything into the Constitution that should make it more intense.

RECONSTRUCTION.

During all this period, also, Mr. Sumner was exerting himself to hasten reconstruction.

On the 27th of May Mr. Sumner presented in a Resolution the theory of reconstruction which is now practically adopted. It was offered while the Senate had under consideration the credentials of certain claimants as Senators from Arkansas. It was in these words:

Resolved, That a State pretending to secede from the Union, and battling against the National government to maintain this pretension, must be regarded as a rebel State, *subject to military occupation, and without title to representation on this floor until it has been readmitted by a vote of both Houses of Congress;* and the Senate will decline to entertain any application for any such rebel State until after such vote of both Houses of Congress.

Mr. Sumner supported this resolution in an elaborate speech.

On the 13th of June the subject of Reconstruction again came up on the question of admitting the Arkansas Senator. Mr. Sumner opposed his admission and first insisted on "irreversible guarantees."

THE RATIFICATION ISSUE.

On the question of the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment Mr. Sumner took the ground—and he was the first to do so—that three-fourths of the loyal States were sufficient to effect a legal ratification. At a subsequent day, when the question was discussed collaterally in the debate on the recognition of Louisiana, Mr. Sumner, in reply to Mr. Doolittle, tersely stated his objections to that policy:

"He says the vote of Louisiana is needed. Sir, the vote of Louisiana is not needed; and when the Senator makes that assertion, it is interposing an obstacle to the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment. Is he a friend to the Constitutional Amendment? Why, then, does he interpose an obstacle to it by foisting an untenable and erroneous interpretation on the Constitution of the United States? The Constitution declares that a constitutional amendment shall become to all intents and purposes a part of the Constitution when it shall be ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States; but if no Legislatures exist in States, is the Senator going to make that an excuse for avoiding the establishment of that constitutional amendment? Sir, I will not recognise the rebellion to that extent; I will not recognize the independence of the rebel States as the Senator from Wisconsin does. I insist that these rebel States shall not control the National government at this moment, in this great period of our history, and thwart the establishment of human freedom throughout the land."

In support of this view Mr. Sumner introduced two different series of resolutions insisting that the ratification of constitutional amendments may be by three-fourths of the loyal States.

Then came up

THE LOUISIANA QUESTION.

Mr. Lincoln brought forward the half-fledged State of Louisiana—hatched by Gen. Banks—and used his personal influence to secure its admission. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate, under the lead of Mr. Trumbull, were in favor of receiving it. Although Mr. Sumner was on terms of close intimacy with Mr. Lincoln, he determined to oppose his pet scheme of the hour to the utmost of his power. He could not consent to see Louisiana come in under that Constitution—formed as it was by military power, and excluding all colored persons from the rights of citizenship. He made every effort to defeat it by speeches and contrary propositions. On the 26th of February (1865), standing almost alone, he introduced resolutions "declaring the duty of the United States to guarantee republican governments in the rebel States, on the basis of the Declaration of Independence; so that the new governments shall be founded on the consent of the governed, and the equality of all persons before the law."

Mr. Sumner defeated the bill by resorting to the Parliamentary tactics known as "filibustering." As the session was about to close, the press of other business enabled him to employ these tactics with success. It is well known that he was warmly denounced for this conduct by the majority of the party. It was held up as an instance of his "utter impracticability." Yet who denies to-day that it was a wise action? For, if Louisiana had been admitted, it would have furnished a precedent for the reorganization of all the other States on the white basis and by simple Presidential power. It would have led to the admission of all the rebel States without guarantees for the future, and without protection to the freedmen. The whole case was tersely and vigorously stated, in a "nut-shell," in the concluding sentences of Mr. Sumner's reply to Mr. Trumbull of Illinois:

The United States are bound by the Constitution "to guarantee to every state a Republican form of government." *Now, when called to perform this guaranty, it is proposed to recognize an oligarchy of the skin.* The pretended State government in Louisiana is utterly indefensible, whether you look at its origin or its character. To describe it, I must use plain language. It is a mere seven-months' abortion, begotten by the bayonet in criminal conjunction with the spirit of caste, and born before its time, rickety, unformed, unfinished whose continued existence will be a burden, a reproach and a wrong. That is the whole case; and yet the Senator from Illinois now presses it upon the Senate at this moment, to the exclusion of the important public business of country.

The Conservative papers, at the time, spoke of Mr. Sumner as having "kicked Louisiana down stairs," and predicted that this action would end his relations with Mr. Lincoln. The President, on the contrary, continued his friendship unreservedly and took a special occasion to exhibit the fact on a conspicuous public occasion.

TREATMENT OF REBEL PRISONERS.

Early in January, 1865, the Military Committee of the Senate, strongly aided by Messrs. Howard and Wade, pressed a bill for retaliation against the rebels, on account of Andersonville and Libby prisons. Although this bill came from his intimate friends, personal and political, he threw his whole influence against it and gave it no quarter. He introduced counter resolutions and supported them in a powerful speech, which was pronounced by one eminent Conservative fellow-member to be the finest Senatorial effort that he ever heard.

This speech was an off-hand effort; but there are few passages in Mr. Sumner's writings more eloquent than the peroration of this unpremeditated outburst:

Do not, I pray you, consider me indifferent to the condition of those unhappy prisoners. I do not yield to the Committee or to any Senator in ardor or anxiety for their protection. Whatever can be done, I am ready to do. But, as American citizens, they have an interest that we should do nothing by which our country shall forfeit that great place which belongs to it in the vanguard of the nations. It cannot be best for them that our country should do an unworthy thing. It cannot be best for them that our national destiny should be thus darkened. Duties are in proportion to destinies, and from the very heights of our example I argue again that we cannot allow ourselves, under any passing passion or resentment, to stoop to a policy which history must condemn. There is not a patriot soldier who would not say, "Let me suffer, but save my country."

But even if you make up your minds to do this thing, you cannot. The whole idea is impracticable. The attempt must fail, because human nature is against you. *Nemo repente turpissimus.* A humane and civilized people cannot suddenly become inhuman and uncivilized. Conscience, heart, soul and body, will all rise against you. From every side will be repeated that generous cry which comes to us from the darkest day of French history, when the brave commander said to the monarch who ordered the massacre of St. Bartholemew, "Sire, I have under me brave soldiers and trusty officers, but not a single executioner;" or that later cry, when the French Convention, under the lead of Barere, decreed that all English prisoners should be shot—"We will not shoot them," said a stout-hearted sergeant; "If the Convention takes pleasure in killing prisoners, let members kill them and eat them, like savages as they are." But the officers and soldiers of the armies of the United States are not less generous. They, too, would cry out, "Let members of Congress do this work, if it is to be done; but do not impose it upon a fellow-man."

Mr. President, it is with pain that on this occasion, I differ from valued friends whose friendship is among the treasures of my life. But I cannot help it. I cannot do otherwise. It is long since I first raised my voice in this Chamber against the "Barbarism of Slavery," and I have never ceased to denounce it in season and out of season. *But the rebellion is nothing but that very barbarism armed for battle.* Plainly it is our duty to overcome it, *not to imitate it.* And here I stand.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

Then came the Session in April, 1865, and the Presidency of Mr. Johnson. As soon as Mr. Sumner saw him, he began to press him in favor of impartial suffrage—a happy phrase, by the way, which our Senator originated. The President told him that there was no difference between them!

EULOGY ON LINCOLN.

In June Mr. Sumner returned to Boston and delivered his speech on Lincoln, entitled "Promises of the Declaration of Independence." Here again he illustrated his theory that he was bound in his public career to wrest every occasion that was given to him to the cause that he had at heart, to make it tell for those principles which he now represented. Believing that our true policy was to embody the principles of the Declaration of Independence in legislation, Mr. Sumner insisted that we must now carry out its promises in our public action.

The whole burthen of the eulogy was to view Mr. Lincoln as the representative of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and to urge the country to complete the work that he had begun in that direction. At this time Mr. Johnson was beginning his reconstruction policy in North Carolina—putting rebels in office, and men who could not take the oath.

DEMAND FOR GUARANTEES.

Mr. Sumner's next public effort was a speech at the Republican State Convention in Worcester, on "The National Security and the National Faith: Guarantees for the National Freedmen and the National Creditor." In this speech he laid down the guarantees that we should ask. The President was whipping up reconstruction so as to have the rebel States ready for admission at the meeting of Congress.

He was disappointed that they did not come up to time. Of course his policy contemplated a complete abandonment of the freedmen.

Mr. Sumner's speech specifies all the requirements that are necessary for the establishment of a just reconstruction. He depicted the danger to the national debt and the national freedmen, if the rebels should get back without any guarantees, and brought up as an illustration his famous account of the Dikes of Holland:

"Such are the supreme objects now at heart—the *National Security and the National Faith*, or the two absorbed into one, *Security for the Future.*

THE DIKES OF HOLLAND.

"And here allow me to present an illustration, which, unless I mistake, will make our duty clear. You do not forget the immense and costly dikes, built by Holland against the sea; but, perhaps, you may not call to mind their origin and importance. Before these embankments were constructed the whole country was in constant danger. At an early period there was an irruption which destroyed no less than forty-four villages, followed very soon by another which destroyed eighty thousand lives. In the fifteenth century there was still another which swept away one hundred thousand persons—a terrible sacrifice, even greater in proportion to the population of Holland at that time, than what we have been called to hear from the bloody irruption of slavery. At last the dikes were constructed as safeguards, and down to this day they are preserved at a large annual cost. Precautions of all kinds are superadded. A special corps of engineers, educated at Delft, is constantly employed in the work of renovation. Watchmen patrol the walls, and alarm bells are ready to ring. The gratitude of the people shows itself even to its unconscious protectors; and the stork, which, resting here on its flight from Africa, destroys the vermin that weaken and sap the dikes, is held in veneration, so that to kill a stork is looked upon as little less than a crime. Such are some of the defences by which Holland is guarded against danger from the sea. But how petty is her danger compared with ours! We, too, must have our dikes, with engineers to keep them strong—with watchmen to patrol them—with alarm bells to ring; and we, too, must have our storks to destroy the vermin that weaken and sap our embankments.

OUR DIKES ARE GUARANTEES.

"What shall be our defences? How shall we guard against destructive irruptions? And where shall we establish our security for the future? Our embankments must not be of earth. Walls of stone will not do. Towers, ramparts and buttresses will be impotent against our vindictive tide. The security we seek must be found in *organic law with irreversible guarantees; and these irreversible guarantees must be co-extensive with the danger.*"

The guarantees demanded by Mr. Sumner were, the inviolable unity of the Republic; the enfranchisement of the freedmen; their equality before the law; the irrepealibility of the national debt; the abjurement of the rebel debt and the education of the people. It was the first time that guarantees had been spoken of by any of our public men.

There is one fine passage in Mr. Sumner's rehearsal of the guarantees required which I would like to quote:

"In obtaining guarantees, we must rely upon acts rather than professions, and light our footsteps by 'the lamp of experience.' Therefore, we turn from recent rebels to *constant loyalists.* This is only ordinary prudence. As those who have fought against us should be disfranchised, so those who fought for us should be enfranchised, and thus a renovated State will be built secure on an unfaltering and natural loyalty. For awhile the freedman will take the place of the master, thus verifying the saying that the last shall be first and the first shall be last. In the pious books of the East it is declared, that the greatest mortification at the day of judgment will be when the faithful slave is carried to Paradise, and the wicked master is sent to hell; and this same reversal of conditions appears in the gospel when Dives is exhibited as suffering the pains of damnation while the beggar of other days is sheltered in Abraham's bosom. Therefore, in organizing this change, we follow divine justice. Surely nobody can doubt that Robert Small, the heroic slave, who carried a rebel steamer to our fleet and then became our pilot, deserves more of the Republic than a South Carolina official, occupied at that very time as Commissioner to regulate impressments in the rebel army. To accept the latter and to reject the former will be not only the height of injustice, but the height of meanness. It will be a deed 'to make heaven weep, all earth amazed.'"

THE Democracy of New Hampshire sent all the way to Iowa for an orator to plead their cause, and imported Henry Clay Dean. Here is a sample of the talk on which he regaled his Democratic auditors during his labors for the New Hampshire Democracy:

"If I could have my way, I would place Jeff. Davis in Congress, where he rightfully belongs; then I would go to Concord, take all those miserable battle-flags from the State House, and make a bonfire of them in the State House yard; then I would go all through the North, and destroy all the monuments and grave-stones erected to the memory of soldiers; in short, I would put out of sight everything which reminds us that we ever had a war with our Southern brethren. I do not know that I would hang one-legged and one-armed soldiers, but I would pray to God to get them out of our way as soon as possible."

A NEW YORK correspondent of the Chicago *Journal* writes:

"I am struck with the belief that pervades all circles that the removal of the President will bring peace and a revival of business. Two Democrats, heavy business men, who have time and again argued with me that impeachment would be sure to bring revolution, have declared to me this afternoon that they now hoped the thing would go through, because of the business interests of the country. Although they believed the President had not intentionally violated the law, they thought the controversy ought to be brought to an end, and if it could be ended by the removal of one party to the fight, it was best to have him removed; and others who can tell you much more than I can, but the statement of such noble Christian men as Mayor Horton, of Mobile, and others, with whom I have freely conversed, are entitled to great weight. It is their judgment that Northern men have little idea of the virulence which Johnson's policy has engendered in the class who will live and die disloyal and who are struggling for control of the negro.—*New Bedford (Mass.) Standard.*

RECONSTRUCTION IN ARKANSAS.

THE way reconstruction is prosecuted in Arkansas is illustrated by the following editorial account contained in the Little Rock (Ark.) *Republican*, of March 18:

We have just learned from a messenger who left Austin last evening, of the election at the polls there. This place is about thirty-five miles from Little Rock. Our informant states that the conduct of the rebels was violent and disgraceful. The scoundrels took possession of the polls, and compelled the colored voters, some thirty odd in number, to vote the rebel ticket; that these voters acknowledged that they wished to vote the Republican ticket, but did not dare to do so for fear of their lives. The ex-rebels, the meanest, perhaps, in the State, drove the messenger from the polls, and, following him several miles homeward, fired on him with pistols.

Now, then, let these whelps be arrested forthwith, and taught a lesson they will remember. That place has the reputation of being the most thoroughly rebellious in this part of the State, and we hope the military will not only order a new election at that point, but that it will be held in such a vigorous and thorough-going manner that the ex-rebel horde will be put upon their good behavior hereafter.

AUGUSTA, March 14.

To Jas. L. Hodges, Thos. M. Bowen, Joseph Brooks, Commissioners:

The deputy sheriff prevented the civil election at Cotton Plant by force. Send me orders immediately.

D. P. UPHAM,
Special Commissioner.

On yesterday we called attention to the conduct of the anti-reconstructionists at the polls in Austin, Prairie County, on the day of election.

To-day we have to chronicle, as will be seen by the dispatch published above, another evidence of the systematic violence and intimidation which the ex-rebel leaders have advised their turbulent cohorts to pursue in the present campaign. It will be observed that their followers have adopted the advice given them, and are promptly and vigorously acting upon it. They are making up a record which will be duly proven and remembered.

Fortunately the provisions of the schedule for holding the civil or State election anticipate and provide for just such occurrences as these. When it is considered that this civil election is fully authorized by the recent act of Congress, it will be seen what a highhanded proceeding it was on the part of this deputy sheriff to interfere with the voting at those polls. So the ex-rebel leaders will make nothing by their motion.

We understand that some of their tools admitted that these leaders were very doubtful about defeating the new Constitution, but that they had determined to do so at all hazards; and, if they thought it became necessary, to accomplish this end, to resort to the means which we see they have employed at Austin, and in Woodruff County.

The mistake Congress made, and which has caused already too much expense and delay, was in submitting the work of reconstruction at all to such a perverse and rebellious people. While amongst the masses of the South there are many persons who, if they could be brought from under the control of their old leaders, are undoubtedly disposed to be honest and loyal citizens, yet it has always seemed to us that reconstruction should have been decided by the vote and action of the exclusively loyal people.

TERRORISM IN TENNESSEE.

From the New York Tribune.

REJECTING a great deal of exaggeration, and no little pure invention in the reports sent to us from Tennessee, we are still compelled to give attention to trustworthy relations of the anarchy and lawlessness that prevail in many portions of the State, and especially in the extremes—the eastern mountain regions, and the City of Memphis. Within a few weeks a mysterious organization has spread over the whole State, and its strange operations have created no little alarm. This is the Kuklux Klan, a secret organization, whose purposes are unknown, but whose acts have, in many instances, become matter of record. It is barely possible that this order, whose members prowl at night in close disguise, and issue orders, couched in gibberish of the most incoherent, yet startling phrase, is only some huge joke; but by certain well-ascertained facts we are led to the conclusion that there is far more serious matter in it. That the order, whatever else it may be, is intensely rebel cannot be doubted. The truth is that, so far from the old spirit of proscription having died out in the hearts of the reconstructed, it has remained as a latent fire, ever ready to burst forth in all its native violence. A Northern man, who believes that a change of residence does not invalidate the right or duty of taking an interest in the politics of the day, finds that a timid, quiet Republican, who takes an active part in the affairs of his party, is simply one of the common herd branded as Radicals; but let him, from talent or energy in the cause, become a candidate for office, or a recognized leader in the Radical ranks, and at once all the vituperation and abuse which might be supposed to emanate from the purlieus of a fishmonger's stand is hurled upon his devoted head by the "loyal reconstructed press." If a Conservative meeting is to be held, it is almost invariably presided over and controlled by men whose loyalty dates from that of their parole, but who prate of their unflinching devotion to that Constitution which, if rigidly adhered to, would have placed a rope about their necks. If a Conservative convention is called to make party nominations, and a ticket made, as was the case in the late election in Memphis, a ticket that should disgrace any party carrying the same, containing even the names of murderers, keepers of keno rooms, and professional gamblers, the model press of our Tennessee model Unionists exhorts all to stand firm, extols these same candidates to the skies as true types of Conservatism, and seeks to break down the character of every man on the Radical ticket by language and epithets foreign to all generally conceived ideas of respectable journalism. Even though such journal keeps as one of its staff a man notoriously reported to be a deserter from the rebel army, a dealer in mules bearing the mark "C. S. A.," and a disciple of such classic institution as the Missouri Penitentiary for having more wives than the laws of that State generally allowed, still, despite all this, a loyal man of hitherto unblemished reputation must not, dare not be an active Radical, for fear of having such moral guardian of the people attack and break down his character through the press under his control. To such an extent have the loyal masses been held in subjection by such a vicious press that a business man dare not take any part with his party for fear of having "small-pox branded over his door."

It was this fell spirit of proscription that originated the famous *Avalanche* contempt cases, in which, luckily for the loyal men in Memphis, the Judge of the criminal bench got by far the best of it, though as it now seems, at the imminent risk of assassination. From the several judgments which involved a penalty of $10 fine and ten days imprisonment in each contempt the Judge granted an appeal, conditioned that one case go to the Supreme Court, the rest to be held as security for the cessation of all further attacks on the bench pending the decision. For a violation of this agreement, the editors were incarcerated in jail on one of the suspended judgments. A writ of habeas corpus brought them before another Judge for hearing, pending decision in which the parties were released on personal recognizance. The spirit of proscription showed itself throughout the whole proceedings, in utter contempt of all respect for law. Violence was openly talked of on every hand, and the daily editorials of the press were such as were calculated to create the most intense hatred in the breasts of all ex-rebels and sympathizers. A great hue and cry has been made of soldiers being called in, and yet there are few Union men who will not say that a just fear of personal violence made their presence necessary. This is now proved beyond a doubt by a most audacious attempt at assassination of the Judge, on the night of the 13th, in his own house. For some days, vague whisperings leaked out here and there of a branch of the Kuklux Klan

in Memphis, to be on the look-out for leading Rad-c ls. Many supposed it but designed to intimidate blacks at the late election, but we now see that rumors pointing to assassination had some foundation. On the afternoon of the 13th, Judge Hunter was told by a colored man that he had overheard a plot to take his life that night at his house, but did not know the parties. The Judge repaired to the house of a friend, and gave the alarm. Some time after 10 o'clock a hack drove up at his house, the door bell was rung, and the Judge was called for. His wife answering the call, saw a man at the door with his hand on a weapon, while two or three comrades were still in the hack. Not finding the Judge, the party drove off, remarking with an oath, "We'll find him yet." Within a few moments a couple of policemen arrived, bearing the following note, to wit:

OFFICE SUPERINTENDENT M. POLICE,
MEMPHIS, March 13, 1868.

HON. WM. HUNTER—*Sir:* I have just received information from a source that I cannot disregard, that an attempt will be made, perhaps to-night, to take your life. I have treated the rumors that have been circulated lately as idle and groundless, but now I feel it my duty to inform you of your danger and send men to protect you. Two men will go with this, and two more will be sent as soon as the theatre closes, say about eleven o'clock. Respectfully your obedient servant, S. B. BEAUMONT, Supt. M. P.

In the meantime, friends of the Judge had repaired to the quarters of the United States Commandant and obtained a guard for the house.

Since this occurrence, Gen. Thomas has been notified officially that the criminal court cannot be held with safety to the life of the Judge, or its decrees enforced, and the Judge has adjourned the same until some action can be taken in the matter. The excitement and feeling among the colored men is most intense, and should the life of the Judge be taken, the consequences would be of a most terrible character. At the time of the bloody riots in Memphis, the negroes were comparatively just from the thraldom of slavery, and unorganized; to-day they are banded for mutual protection, and it is supposed they are thoroughly armed. Judge Hunter having always proved himself their true friend, an attack upon his life is looked upon as a direct attack upon the lives of all colored persons, and will be revenged as such. Should he be assassinated, it would take a strong force indeed to restrain retaliation. Such has been the result of the baleful teachings of Andrew Johnson. Those who at the close of the war were willing to accept the situation, now dictate and control, while those who fought for law and order are not only proscribed and persecuted, but are, it seems, to be assassinated for carrying out that law which, impartially administered, can only be enforced by the strong arm of military power through fear of a secret oath-bound association that by its deeds carries terror through the whole of loyal Tennessee.

INFLUENCE OF IMPEACHMENT AT THE SOUTH.—A well-known Northern minister, spending the Winter at the South, thinks that, if the state of feeling there respecting impeachment were generally known at the North, it would have a favorable effect, and says:

The impeachment of the President is working wonders here. The staunch old Unionists begin to breathe again. The rebels, till now defiant, are visibly troubled. Men of the very highest character in New Orleans, Mobile, and other places, tell me, if Johnson had been impeached immediately after the New Orleans riot, everything would have been settled in a prosperous train before this time. They say there is a large class of middle men—foreigners who are tired of confusion, Northerners who have been too timid to risk business by braving the dominant and hitherto successful Southern spirit—who are now manifesting their readiness to come out boldly for Congress and reconstruction. Only let it be settled that there is to be no backing down, no return of power to the hands of disloyal men, and the horizon will brighten at once.

It is possible you are in communication with this feeling, that impeachment will bring peace, is exercising a most powerful, I may say wonderful, influence, in making Democrats in business favorable to the measure. I predict that when it is accomplished the Democrats will be as glad as the Republicans at the result. Within a day or two I have mingled somewhat in mercantile circles, and find that the feeling is universal that the dry goods trade will have a great revival as soon as the quarrel at Washington is settled. It is believed that the coming Presidential election will not be attended with any of the ordinary turmoil, excitement, and financial prostration, inasmuch as the opposition will regard Grant's election as a foregone conclusion, and therefore make no animated fight."

Special Dispatch to the Republican.

NASHVILLE, March 14.

NEAR Columbia, Maury Co., on Friday, a negro woman was shot dead and a negro man wounded by a ruffian named Billy McKintly. The latter was drunk at the time, and without any provocation whatever, shot the two negroes, who were proceeding to town in a wagon.

THE body of a colored man who was drowned last Fall floated ashore on Tuesday, at Crisfield, Md. After holding an inquest, the jury rendered a verdict of accidental drowning, and then—those who expect us here to say the man was buried will be somewhat mistaken. The necessary arrangements for that ceremony not being completed, the body was towed out to the middle of the river and tied to a stake, there to float until it shall be the sovereign pleasure of whoever does the burying down that way to give it a decent interment.—*Wilmington Commercial.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 4, 1868.

The National Anti-Slavery Standard FOR 1868.

Chattelism has been abolished, but equal freedom for the colored race has not yet been secured. The old controversy has not been definitely ended. It has again passed from the bloody arena of the battle-field to the sphere of politics and diplomacy. The last elections present a fearful record of unrelenting prejudice against the colored race. They have revived the forlorn hopes, and renewed the desperate energies of the discomfited rebels at the South. We had fondly hoped that we were well nigh at the end of the struggle for equal freedom, irrespective of color, but through treachery, and the want of enlightened, conscientious statesmanship we are involved in a conflict of still momentous importance. Many politicians who, during the war, were willing to accept the services and to advocate the enfranchisement of colored men, now as the temptations of the presidential year approach, disgracefully surrender and abandon their cause. So too the popular churches and clergy are relaxing their interest for, and diminishing their co-operation with the freedmen, and excusing themselves on the score of disinclination for "political preaching," they ally themselves as formerly with 'Conservatism' and the dominant spirit of prejudice against race.

Under these circumstances it is of the greatest importance to have a thoroughly Radical, independent journal, which, like THE STANDARD, may speak freely and fearlessly for justice and impartial freedom, with nothing to gain or lose by party triumphs or losses. During the past year our circulation has steadily increased with each month. Frequent calls for the paper come to us of late from the South. THE STANDARD now goes regularly each week to Charleston, Mobile, New Orleans, Memphis, Nashville, Richmond and at other points in the South. We have arrangements in progress for its general introduction to the notice of the leading colored men and white Radicals throughout the South the present year. The importance of an intelligent alliance between uncompromising Radicals at the North and their coadjutors at the South can scarcely be over-estimated in the present condition of national affairs.

WENDELL PHILLIPS will continue as the past year an editorial writer for the columns of THE STANDARD. It will also be the medium through which his lectures and addresses, as revised by himself, will be given to the public. Other able writers will contribute regularly to its columns. We shall continue to present a department of choice literary miscellany, and while chiefly devoted to the consideration of the freedom and well-being of the colored race, our columns will, as hitherto, hospitably entertain the claims of movements of a kindred end and aim, as the rights of women, temperance, education, etc.

The period through which we are now passing is one of the most critical thus far in our national experience. Though the late reverses in the elections may dishearten those whose dependence is upon the Republican party, it should be borne in mind that it has been, and still is, the high prerogative of Abolitionists to create the opinion which makes and unmakes parties in the service of freedom.

We appeal earnestly and confidently therefore to all friends to unite heartily with us in an effort to extend the circulation of THE STANDARD as the emergency of the cause it represents demands.

MRS. LYDIA MARIA CHILD, in a letter accompanying a remittance for THE STANDARD, writes as follows:

WAYLAND, Mass., Feb. 1, 1868.

AARON M. POWELL—*Dear Sir:* Enclosed is $3 00, our yearly subscription for THE STANDARD. Money cannot pay for the privilege of having a paper that speaks the truth boldly, without fear or favor, alike unfettered by sect, and untrammelled by any political party. Such a paper was never more needed than at the present time, and I am thankful to see that so many friends rally to its support. Yours, cordially,

L. MARIA CHILD.

PREMIUMS.

We offer our friends what we are sure will be esteemed very liberal and welcome compensation for their efforts to add to our subscription list, namely: to old subscribers who renew their subscriptions and send one new subscriber for the year ($6; or to any who will send two new subscribers ($6) we will send either of the following very desirable books:

Wendell Phillips' "Speeches, Lectures and Letters." 562 pages, with steel portrait—price $2.50.

Lydia Maria Child's "Romance of the Republic." 442 pages—price $2.50.

Caroline H. Dall's "College, Market and Court." 498 pages—price $2.50.

THE SITUATION.

EVERYTHING looks bright at Washington. The majority in Congress and on the Supreme Bench seems to know its duty and to be fully resolved to do it. The trial of the President goes forward as fast as an affair of such moment can properly do. We have very little doubt as to the result. To be sure, the prominent actors seem more than usually able to keep their own counsel; hence the rumors from the Capitol really amount to little. But we have one fact to guide our expectations. Messrs. Washburne of Illinois, Wilson of Iowa, and Bingham of Ohio, are not impulsive children, but cool-headed, selfish politicians. They have opposed Impeachment for the last ten months, on the ground that it was madness to begin it while it was certain the Senate would not convict. Now we have full faith in the caution and selfish prudence of Mr. Washburne, and we believe he and his comrades never changed front and advocated Impeachment until they were assured that thirty-six Senators stood ready to convict. Our belief in the calculating wariness of these gentlemen is so perfect that we feel sure that when Mr. Washburne made his hot, impulsive speech, he *knew* how Senators would vote. Our only anxiety is for the chance Mr. Johnson has to secure delay, and thus gain time to attack the purpose of individual Senators. Great lawyers undoubtedly believe he relies on their arguments, and very properly address themselves to the task of preparing them. All the world, except those worthy gentlemen, knows that Mr. Johnson sets them up as a mere screen behind which to carry on, unseen, his efforts to undermine the majority in the Senate.

But we feel sure the country is too fully roused to tolerate traitors in the Senate. Democrats as well as Republicans hail Impeachment as the only path to improvement in business and to industrial prosperity. In the West men say let no Republican Senator venture to cross the mountains or the Mississippi who betrays his constituents now. The Presidential canvass is too near, the need of government patronage to check the Democratic party too urgent, to allow any wavering. What we never could get out of the virtue of the Republican party we seem likely to get from its fears. The South in anarchy, business stagnant, Johnson defiant and triumphant, Charles Francis Adams Democratic candidate and Seward his bottle-holder, with the government patronage in his hand, was too appalling a prospect. Hence Grant managers, like Washburne; traders, like Senator Wilson; betrayers of their constituents, like Bingham of Ohio and Wilso of Iowa, *get light* on this matter of Impeaching Johnson. In such an emergency we see our advantage. No matter for the motive; all Hail the result. We see the almost absolute certainty of the right result in this absolute need under which the party labors.

We pointed out, as long ago as January, 1866, the danger which lies in the direction of the Supreme Court; a danger which has just obliged Congress to take away its appellate jurisdiction. This is the first step. Now increase the number of judges so soon as Mr. Wade stands authorized to nominate them. In March, 1862, Mr. Stevens recognized the need of thus infusing new blood into that Court, and briging it into line with the Nation. But he feared to trust Mr. Lincoln with the nomination of the new judges. The action to-day of those judges whom Mr. Lincoln did nominate proves how wise was Mr. Stevens's caution. Two out of Lincoln's four nominees have deserted us. Their votes constitute to-day the danger which threatens the national cause from that quarter. We are glad, therefore, to hear that whenever Mr. Wade sits in the White House, the plan will be renewed so to remodel that Court as to bring it into harmony with the nation.

All honor to brave THADDEUS STEVENS for his movement to secure universal suffrage North and South. This is another indispensable guaranty. Could we shape it to suit ourselves, we would have a Constitutional Amendment securing the right of suffrage, both in State and National elections, to every citizen who has not forfeited it by crime. As it is, we claim a Constitutional Amendment which shall forbid any State to make distinctions among its citizens, in civil or political rights, on account of race, color or previous condition. We shall take occasion frequently and constantly to press this measure, as one indispensable to future peace.

While all these things cheer us, the only little cloud on the horizon is this. A Nation which has suffered and is yet suffering so severely from heedlessly putting at its head a demagogue whose private habits and political training both unfitted him for the post, stands ready to commit the helm, for the next four years, to a successful soldier, for whom his warmest friends dare not claim that he has any ideas—whose drunkenness in the streets of Washington is not denied—and who has not yet condescended to let the country know which side, of this great question of reconstruction, his convictions (if he has any) lead him to take.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE ADMISSION OF ALABAMA.

MR. BINGHAM of Ohio addressed the House in advocacy of the bill, putting it on the statesman-like axiom, that if you cannot get all you wish, you should get all you can. He thought, however, that sufficient restriction had already been imposed on the people of Alabama, and therefore he was opposed to the third section. It was authorized neither by the laws nor the Constitution. It was a right of the people to alter or amend their Constitution, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, and they could not be deprived of that right; the American system of government would be a total failure if the people could not be trusted with that right. There was no honorable excuse for attempting to engraft such a provision on the statute book. I cannot, he said, shut my eyes to the great fact that this government was built by white men upon ideas, if not instincts, that were peculiar to the race, and that the predominating element is still the same, and that there is no reason to expect that in the long future it will ever put on any other complexion. In saying this, I would not be understood to disparage the political rights of any race that fate or fortune has cast on our shores, whether it be the docile African, or the other and more turbulent one, that comes by ship-loads, with its old world ideas and its anti-republican instincts in church and state, to fill the ranks and feed the wasting reservoir of the so-called American democracy. We have them both to deal with, as we have had the Spaniard and the Frenchman, and have now the Mexican and the Indian. We must do the best we can to assimilate these heterogeneous elements by educating them into a love of order and a just appreciation of the rights of man; but nobody, I suppose, would think of constructing a durable republican state from either of these materials without a judicious intermixture of that high instinct which puts the man above the State and has a just regard for all rights and liberties of all. He opposed the section offered by Mr. Stevens, imposing conditions on the admission of Alabama and appealed to the House to reject it; also that of his colleague (Mr. Spaulding), and concluded by advocating the passage of the bill with the third section struck out.

This is the Mr. Bingham, of Ohio, who was elected, as we were told, expressly pledged to impeach Johnson, and then opposed impeachment for twelve months. This is his speech when opposing Mr. Stevens's excellent claim that Alabama should be bound by special constitutional proviso, never to disfranchise the negro. We recommend this absurd pro-slavery, dough-faced and contemptible talk to the notice of his Ohio constituents. It is talk which just befits the child who is said to have threatened that he would oppose impeachment unless he was allowed to be chairman of the managers, and whose baby petulance was soothed into good nature by the magnanimity of Mr. Boutwell, of Massachusetts: this latter State sends men, not children, to the Congress.

After this lamentable exhibition either of utter ignorance or of bitter prejudice and gross infidelity to the National idea, listen to the clear, true and statesmanlike words of STEVENS. Especially do we call earnest attention to the startling facts which he adduces to support his argument.

Mr. Stevens, of Pa., rose at the Clerk's desk and spoke at some length. He held now, as he did at the time of the admission of West Virginia, that having conquered the territory from another power, we had the right to treat it as such, and to take it or keep it out as we pleased. The only question here, although this State has not lived up to this enabling act, are we prepared to admit her people as fit to associate with freemen, a few of whom so sympathized with relicts that they are unwilling to let these poor men into the Union at all. (Laughter.) What is the Constitution? It is that every male child of sufficient age—21 years—shall be entitled to vote at their elections. If I were certain that those who have just perjured themselves and attempted to break down this glorious Union would live by their contract and not attempt further to destroy us if we admit this terrible leaven I should not hesitate. There are no forms, no omissions that would keep me from admitting them into the Union at once. I confess, I have my doubts—I am sorry for it—as to whether, after we shall have admitted them into the Union, and after the morrow's sun shall have set upon them, they will not be ready to call a new convention, in some shape or form. ingenuity of these men. except for crime, but I have ty cases in which men have and are now serving in it. where our Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau informed me that he had seen six of them sold for twenty years. How do they do it? They pass a law that any man guilty of assault and battery shall be sold into slavery for twenty years, and it is the law there now. They go into the streets, and if a white man jostles a black man, or a black man jostles a white one, he is taken right to the court, convicted of assault and battery, and is sold for twenty years into slavery. There are hundreds this day in the Southern States who are serving as slaves on just such contrivances. They have so altered the law that they have introduced a system of peonage even worse than in Mexico or middle Southern provinces. And yet, what shall we do? We must try to shackle them in the same way, that while we are admitting these fraudulent white men, we are securing these poor, ignorant black men from their impositions. Hence it is that I have moved to strike out all after the first section, and insert in its place what I think will be a complete shackle; but the proposition of the gentleman from Ohio (Bingham) to strike out the third section, is all—I must say—in the interest of slavery. I have offered my proposition to try to protect, if possible, freedom against the rule of the most wicked institution that God ever afflicted man with, or that ever could exist through the invention of human ingenuity. I will vote for no constitution which does not give universal and impartial suffrage, and bind, as far as human ligaments can bind, the provision forever, unalterable and ineradicable in the instrument, so that if ever taken out by the roots it shall take with it every other fragment of the instrument itself, and send them back to act according to the provisions of a new law.

THE Hon. William E. Dodge was then called to take the floor. He said the Club has been thus far a focal point from whence encouragement has emanated for the welfare of the Republic. We have much to be thankful for, both for the past and for the future. Mr. Dodge said he had returned from Washington, where he had an interview with Gen. Grant, and he was satisfied, notwithstanding his (Mr. Dodge's) temperance principles, that the General was the man fully capable to take the place of Andrew Johnson. He felt confident that God has raised up a man to be our next President.

We cut the above from the *Tribune's* account of the Union League Farewell meeting at its old rooms. Mr. Dodge is President, we believe of the National Temperance Society. We take the liberty of asking him whether he thinks Gen. Grant "fully capable to take the place of Andrew Johnson," *because he* drinks as much as Johnson, or because he does not drink at all? And if this last, we beg Mr. Dodge's judgment on the reports of Grant's drunkenness in Washington streets, which no journal or person has yet contradicted, and ask what *evidence* there is that Grant does not *now* drink?

W. P.

THE Impeachment trial was commenced on Monday last. Gen. Butler opened the case on the part of the Managers of the House. His address occupied about two hours in the delivery. It was a very able and conclusive, as well as elaborate argument in support of the impeachment charges. A portion of the documentary evidence was then offered by the Managers, after which the Court adjourned. On Tuesday the trial was resumed, and additional testimony offered by the Managers. On the question of the relevancy of testimony an issue was raised by Mr. Drake and sustained by the Managers, that the Chief-Justice has no authority whatever to render any decision, but that the power to decide all matters of this nature is vested in the members of the Court. The result of a protracted conference of three hours in secret session was a vote sustaining Mr. Chase, but reserving to the Senate a final judgment on any of the points of evidence of form or of law that might arise.

It is expected that the trial will occupy three or four weeks, though we hope that it may be disposed of in half that time. We should be more confident did not evidence accumulate that the Chief-Justice is adverse to impeachment.

We print elsewhere an interesting report, taken from the Worcester (Mass.) *Spy*, of a public discussion—the third of a series—held in Worcester, for the consideration of the question of Suffrage for Women. These meetings, we learn, are held at the instance of STEPHEN S. FOSTER and others friendly to the enfranchisement of women. It will be observed that Mr. Foster states that it is with difficulty that he can find competent persons willing to speak in opposition to the claims of woman to the ballot. This is significant of the rapid and very gratifying progress which this cause is making, not only as related to the public opinion of this country, but in European society as well. Only with its full and complete triumph will a democracy, pure and simple, have been realized. Similar meetings for discussion ought to be indefinitely multiplied and held in other localities.

SENATORS decline to suspend Johnson from office during his trial, it is understood, to avoid a revolutionary conflict, which might arise if suspension was attempted. Meanwhile Johnson has called Gen. Hancock to his service, and appointed him to an important command, with headquarters in Washington. It will not be surprising if the sequel shall prove that the trouble which the Senate would avoid had been invited by the absurd refusal to suspend the White House usurper while his trial is in progress.

PERSONAL.

WENDELL PHILLIPS delivered the concluding lecture of the New Bedford (Mass.) Lyceum course on Wednesday evening, April 1st.

Anna E. Dickinson lectured in Philadelphia on Thursday evening, April 2d, on "The Duty of the Hour."

Lucy Stone, we understand, has accepted an invitation to address a Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature in behalf of suffrage for women.

The Rev. W. C. Van Meter, Superintendent of the Howard Mission sailed for Europe on Wednesday, where he will remain during the Summer to examine its benevolent institutions.

The Vineland (N. J.) *Weekly* says: "Among the incidents of the late election was the appearance of a woman at the polls. Having provided herself with a ballot, she marched up to the rostrum and tendered her ballot to the Chairman of the Board of Registry. The veteran politician, John Kandle, covered with blushes, was obliged to inform the lady that no one could vote unless their name was registered. She acquiesced in the decision very readily, saying she only wished to test a principle, and retired very quietly from the hall."

Harper's Bazar for April contains a well engraved likeness of Miss Emma Hunt. Miss Hunt has recently been appointed Chief Enrolling Clerk of the Kansas House of Representatives—an office never before held by a woman. Mr. H. B. Norton, the Associate Principal of the Kansas State Normal School, says of the young lady: "Miss Hunt was for two years an able and faithful pupil in the Normal School, where she showed eminent capacity for doing clerical work. She has given complete satisfaction in the discharge of her duties, and rules her five male and female clerks in a way which shows that she is not entirely outside the pale of 'woman's sphere.'"

The *Bazar* adds: "It is gratifying to chronicle such instances of the gradual expansion of woman's field of labor. There is no reason indeed, why women should not fill similar governmental posts as conscientiously and effectively as men. New occupations are opening for them everywhere. Indeed, it is fast coming to be [illegible] lged that there is nothing within reason [illegible] woman may not do, provided that she does it [illegible] y well, and, withal, in a womanly manner."

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SENATE CHAMBER,
5 p.m, March 31, 1868.

THE Chief-Justice has made his bid for the Democratic Presidential nomination. Your New York *Atlas*, in an article sustaining the nomination of Mr. Chase, declared that, in order to make it sure, the Chief-Justice had only in some way to place himself definitely in opposition to impeachment; to, in some way during the trial, indicate his antagonism to its anticipated result. Gov. Sprague, his son-in-law, is reported to have recently said, in a semi-jesting manner, "that it was true that the Chief-Justice had never been *elected* to any office but by means of a coalition; and the Democratic party, once out of power, had never obtained it again except by taking the principles of their opponents and out-generalling them in the advocacy." Significant words, if true.

As I write in the gallery of the Senate, the Senate are absent in their conference-room, engaged in the discussion of the claim with which to-day the Chief-Justice startled them. No observer of events here was unprepared for this, for rumors had been circulating of an intention, on the presiding officer's part, to claim that he has the right, primarily, as the Chief-Justice, to decide all interlocutory questions of law, such as admissibility of evidence, etc., and the Senate can only override him on an appeal to be taken in due form from the decision he may have rendered. This view of the Chief-Justice's prerogatives necessarily assumes that the Senate is actually a Court, governed, as such, as Gen. Butler well stated yesterday in his great argument, by the same restrictive rules as other courts.

The assumption of the Chief-Justice, if based only on actual belief of his rights in the premises, is, in its way, as dangerous a one as any of those which Andrew Johnson, since he has been acting as President, has put forth for the purpose solely of enlarging and imperializing the Executive office and functions. But the motives are not pure. There is no slander in so stating, only that wise suspicion which becomes men who value liberty more than men or parties. Mr. Chase's conduct for months past warrants one in declaring him opposed to impeachment. The Judge who could do as he did, a year ago—lobby with members of Congress against impeachment, upon the ground solely that it would interfere with the Presidential election—is quite capable of designedly setting up a claim for power in the duty which is now imposed upon him, the allowing of which will be sure to defeat the purpose of the impeachment and ensure the success of the perjured President. The binding of the Senate to the narrow rules of an ordinary law-court, with the restriction it would impose upon the House Managers, would end in the throwing out of much of the testimony to be produced, and would ignore completely all that goes to show motives. This is what the Chief-Justice is evidently working for. He appears in the role of the great conservator of Justice—the stern, impartial judge, whom party or association cannot swerve from the plain equities. Mr. Chase has not always been as eager in such a cause. When the slave-hunters pursued the heroic Margaret Garner, and, as Governor of Ohio, he could have thrown the shield of the State between her and the hunters, he found it convenient to be missing.

To-day when Mr. Burleigh, delegate from Dacotah, was on the stand to testify as to a conversation with Adjutant-General Thomas, which it was claimed would develop the latter's intention to use force in order to obtain control of the War Department, Mr. Stanbery, for the President, objected to the admission of the evidence. The Chief-Justice decided it to be relevant, claiming, as he made such decision, that the power to do it belonged primarily to the Chief-Justice. Senator Drake immediately appealed. This Senator is always on the alert. He seems to carry in his mind most logically the nature, results, and analogies of this contest between Legislative and Executive, and to never fail to see when, where, and how a movement affects the sovereign position of the first function. Butler, for the Managers, argued against the right of the Chief-Justice to assume such powers. The vote could have been taken at once, but Henry Wilson, whose timidity so often makes him a marplot, and whose mind is, I fear, swayed by the fear that the bauble of the Vice-Presidency is slipping from his grasp,—moved to retire for consultation. The vote was taken, and resulted in a tie. It was a strangely mixed affair. The Chief-Justice voted to retire. He has that right clearly, occupying as he does the place, and that only, of the Constitutional President of the Senate.

The conferences are something which never ought to be allowed. They are not public, and Senators will act as they would not if the people by their Argus-eyed representatives (the press) were watching them.

There is not much unanimity in the conference. Senators who have been out declare that the discussion is warm. Senators are allowed ten minutes each in these discussions, and it is quite probable that they may not return for hours.

Dame Rumor declares that the Chief-Justice, if overruled, and the power he claims is denied him, will resign at once. It is further understood if it is given into in this instance, that he will decide in favor of the next application for delay, which will be made ostensibly for the procuring of witnesses.

The *coup d'etat* begins to shape itself. The Chief-Justice is carrying out one of its branches. If that fails of disorganizing the impeachment proceedings, and it is by no means certain that it will, the next step is a bolder one. It will be intrusted to Hancock, and will probably aim at the forcible possession of the War Department, and the arrest of General Grant, should he refuse to execute the order. Hancock is hardly depraved enough yet to completely surrender himself to Andrew Johnson's ends, unless the latter can in some ways arouse Hancock's hatred and jealousy of Grant, which, to those who know the bad blood between these two soldiers which has existed ever since the Wilderness campaign, is the strong controlling element in all of Hancock's recent conduct. Gen. Gordon Granger, who is to be placed in command here in place of Emory, will, however, execute any order, however vile, provided there can be found subordinates who will obey him.

But I must close, as the mail will leave soon.

ASMODEUS.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, March 29th, 1868.

A MISFORTUNE is impending over us in this city. Not of the worst sort, but still one that should be averted, alike on the score of credit and character. An apostle has told us to "Provide things comely in the sight of all [illegible]." (Our translators have written it "honest," [illegible] the apostle wrote "comely," or its equivalent in [illegible]k.) I have already mentioned to you the very unsatisfactory bronze image which the friends of the late Edward Everett have set up in one of our public places. So much dissatisfaction has been expressed in regard to it, that an attempt has been made to mend the matter by changing face, and turning the statue's back to Beacon street, instead of to the Public Garden. The complaints, however, continue, since, though its relation to the places adjacent was one undesirable circumstance, the chief objections were to the figure itself, both as a work of art (which should be comely, if nothing else), and as a likeness of its subject. Well, now that the precedent of changing position is established, some are suggesting that this exaggeration of oratorical attitude (very unlike that of Edward Everett, who was always moderate and graceful), should be placed on the vacant grass-plat fronting one wing of the City Hall, a mate for the statue of Benjamin Franklin, which stands on the other side.

This arrangement would be really discreditable to Boston, since that place should be reserved for some one of her citizens who is historically great, and also noble and venerable, a proper object of civic pride, and a worthy example for the youth of this and future generations. We have no statue of Sam. Adams, none of Josiah Quincy. A worthy representation of either of those men would fitly adorn that place, because the best memories of Boston are associated with their persons, their characters and their work. The city would honor herself by selecting either of these for such commemoration, and her children could point with high satisfaction to such discriminating recognition of public service, lofty aims and noble life. But think, on the contrary, of the monstrosity of putting in a place of honor, beside Benjamin Franklin, the founder of the first Anti-Slavery Society in America, a man who, when Governor of Massachusetts, recommended to her Legislature to pass penal laws against the formation and action of such societies! If the departed spirits of even ordinary men have still the power of tipping tables, I should think that Benjamin Franklin, whenever *such* a colleague should be assigned him, would lay hands upon his own statue, and turn its back towards its unworthy associate.

The latest work in sculpture which has come to Boston is a very beautiful and satisfying production by a Danish artist, hitherto little known, Wilhelm Mathieu. It consists of three busts of eminent musicians, Mozart in the centre, and Palestrina and Beethoven at the sides, with an allegorical composition in high relief under each, suggesting the prominent characteristics of his style of music. Palestrina, who lived in the sixteenth century, introduced great reforms in sacred music, and is considered to have brought choral harmony to a degree of perfection which has never since been exceeded. Beneath his bust, with sweetly serious faces, angelic figures are singing hymns of praise. Other appropriate emblematic figures, all of wonderful grace and beauty, indicate the sunny joyousness and fervent vitality of Mozart's music, and the titanic force, alternating with unsurpassed tenderness, found in the writings of Beethoven. These exquisite works of art are a gift from Charlotte Cushman to the Boston Music Hall. They are now on exhibition for a time, at Child's and Jenks's Gallery of Art in Tremont street.

Our (Episcopalian) *Christian Witness* echoes the complaint of the Dutch Reformed *Christian Intelligencer* of your State that the Freedmen's Union Commission require no sectarian qualification in their teachers, sent to instruct the freedmen in reading and writing. They are shocked to find that people who are engaged to teach the first rudiments of learning, and who do teach these with skill and most encouraging success, should not also be required to teach "Christian" doctrines, by which they mean Dutch Reformed and Episcopal theology. It is this persistency of sectarian propagandists in cramping the word "Christian" into the narrow limits of their church, and forcing it to represent only their favorite theological system, which has induced some hasty persons to relinquish the use of that word, abandon it to the *misuse* of the superstitious and fanatical, and give up the attempt to have it understood in its appropriate sense. The right teachers of reading and spelling are those who understand those branches of knowledge and are skilled in communicating them. In this connection, questions of baptism or confirmation, of orthodoxy or heterodoxy, are simply impertinent, inappropriate, a mixing together of incongruous matters. For the right performance of the present duty of freedmen's teachers, the love of that duty and patient skill in performing it are indispensable; to demand also adherence to the doctrines of a church-catechism would be at once unjustifiable and foolish.

The question has often been debated whether there is any progress in liberality of sentiment among the more rigid sectarians, or whether they are so effectually anchored in the stream of time as to remain motionless. A little item of evidence on this point has just appeared in the *Congregationalist.* A correspondent of that paper, Rev. Dr. Enoch Pond, of Bangor, Me., one of the narrowest of theological bigots, earnestly maintains that Congregationalism is a faith as well as a polity, and properly implies such a belief in depravity and regeneration, and the divinity and atonement of Christ, as orthodox churches hold. The editor of that paper, who held the same view and vehemently maintained it in his editorial columns no longer ago than 1859, now joins issue with his correspondent, and accepts the doctrine that "there are Congregational churches existing which are heretical in faith, yet whose Congregationalism is not on that account denied."—Even the theological world *does* move.

NORTH.

THE Fifth Annual Commencement of the New York Medical College for Women, took place at Steinway Hall on Monday evening. A goodly number were present, and addresses were made by the Rev. Drs. Burchard, Hastings and Weeks, Mr. Fuller, Mr. Penfield, and Mrs. Dr. Lozier, Dean of the College. The degree of M.D. was conferred on eight young women—Misses Mandana B. Fuller, Harriet A. Dada, Mrs. Anna C. Howland, Mrs. Harriet N. Fairbanks, Mrs. Mary C. Brown, Misses C. A. Loring, Emily L. Manning, and Anna T. Nivison. The report of the Dean, Dr. Clemence D. Lozier, showed that twenty-seven women had previously graduated, making with the present class thirty-five recipients of the degree of M.D. Several of them are now occupying prominent and honored positions in their professions and in society. Mrs. Lozier spoke of her observations in the great hospitals of London, Liverpool, Berlin, and Paris, of the positions which women occupied in all of them. Drs. Burchard and Hastings spoke of the natural fitness of women for the positions of physician and nurse, and exhorted the graduates to remember not alone their professional responsibilities, but their obligation to maintain the womanhood and the honor of their sex. The valedictory address was delivered by Miss Mandana B. Fuller. Mr. Robert Elder, the blind organist performed several favorite operatic selections during the intervals of the exercises.—*Tribune.*

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

WE are glad to learn that, at the instance of STEPHEN S. FOSTER, the question of Suffrage for Women, is the subject of a very interesting public discussion now in progress at Worcester, Mass. Three meetings have been held, with a steadily increasing interest. Of the last one held, the Worcester (Mass.) *Spy* presents the following report:

The third of the series of public discussions [illegible] subject of female suffrage, was held last evening at Horticultural Hall. The interest in the subject is increasing, as is indicated by the attendance at the meeting. Last evening the Hall was completely filled, and many went away unable to get in; and although the discussion continued till half-past ten o'clock, the crowd remained, and it was manifest that they would have remained even longer, if the speakers had been willing to continue. In the necessary absence of Hon. Henry Chapin, who presided at the two former meetings, Dr. O. Martin was called to the chair.

B. W. Potter, Esq., was the first speaker. He asserted his belief that the principle of woman suffrage is founded in truth and justice, and that it will prevail. He did not believe, however, it would be a panacea, that the millennium would immediately follow, but it will be a step towards the establishment of a genuine free government, based upon the whole people. He discussed several of the points offered by the opponents of the movement, urging that in a free republic the principle which taxes property held by a woman demands as its counterpart that woman should have a voice in regard to the appropriation of the money raised by taxation.

The assertion that in this country we have too many voters already, he regarded as a fragment of old-time tyranny, and its legitimate fruit is an absolute despotism. The idea that woman will receive contamination from contact with the foulness prevalent at the polls, he believed to be false; or if the polls are foul, they have been made so by men, and are so because women have been excluded. Women have purified all places to which they have been admitted, and may yet make the place of voting as pure and Godlike as the aisles of a church. He also argued that the privilege of the ballot would not necessarily detract from woman's usefulness in the home circle—for those who demand it are far more efficient and faithful in domestic life than those who are willing to accept the present order of things, and spend their time in frivolous and fashionable pursuits. That only the low and vile would accept the ballot is no argument against granting it; for [illegible] twice as many bad men as women, no one suggests the idea of depriving men of the ballot. That it will mar woman's delicacy is indicated by the progress already made in the enfranchisement of woman; at every step the cry has been raised, but at every step her delicacy has been preserved intact, while she has received more and more her rights. If women have never yet proved themselves fully equal to men in literature, or science, it may be that the reason is they have not had equal education and social advantages, and they are entitled to a fair trial before judgment. Progress will affect both sexes alike, and if woman's sphere is enlarged and she thereby is elected, men will share in the elevation.

It may be a step in the dark to give women the ballot, but it can do no harm. If woman is as pure and [illegible] and heavenly as is claimed, she will not use the right to the injury of herself or of society, and if she does, man can by his superior power (as claimed), easily take away the privilege, so that no evil result can ensue from the experiment. The interests of the sexes are identical, and woman is entitled to the ballot if she alone, or the race as a whole, is worthy of the boon of freedom.

Mr. Stephen S. Foster, who has managed the arrangements for the meetings thus far, announced that he had met with great difficulty in securing speakers for the negative of the question, one or two having promised to appear this evening, but had apparently backed down. He said if no one could be found to defend that side he would at the next meeting take the platform himself, and present the arguments which he has been obliged to meet in the discussion of the question in conversation. One argument he would present now. It is admitted that women are better than men; why? They mingle with men in all other places except at the polls. The polls are impure places, and woman owes her superior purity to her absence therefrom. The advocates of woman suffrage are seeking to degrade women by dragging them down to the level of men. This argument he believed had not been met by the advocates of the affirmative.

Rev. Mr. Huntington here interrogated Mr. Foster in regard to the number of clergymen who had signed the petition to the Legislature on the subject. Mr. Foster stated that eight had signed it, while nine had declined, some positively, and others because they had not considered the question. Seventeen of twenty physicians to whom he had applied had also signed the petition. Mr. Huntington suggested that the reason why seven of nine clergymen had not yet spoken in the negative, was because they considered that the arguments already offered had not yet been answered or contradicted.

J. Q. A. Stone asked if it is not singular that, with woman's admitted intelligence, she has but just discovered her need of the ballot, or that she is oppressed, and even now is it certain that she wants it. So far as his acquaintance extended, not one in ten desired it. It is singular that this should be true: even the emancipated blacks at the South are wiser on that point [illegible] knew their needs, and demanded them.

Dr. S. B. Bartholomew said he signed the petition to strike the word "male" from the Constitution, but he did not do it because he wanted woman to vote. At another meeting he would be glad to discuss the question in the negative.

Rev. R. R. Shippen said it is his belief that now that slavery is dead, universal suffrage is the next question which is to be debated and established. He rejoiced in the hospitality of spirit prevailing here, which allows frank discussion on such subjects, and in the earnestness, eloquence and candor which had thus far marked the discussion. He considered the question of woman having the ballot as a narrow view of the whole question, and only because it is a key-note, a salient point in the question of woman's whole relation to employment, wages, and education, would he discuss it. He declared his belief in the perfect equality of the sexes in the sense in which Jefferson declared in the Declaration of Independence that all mankind are created free and equal.

In this country each man has freedom to choose his calling and destiny; this is what he claimed for woman. Man has a monopoly of much of woman's rightful employment; but if freedom be given her, she will not choose to sing less, nor will man choose to sing soprano. I only ask that both be allowed to sing, and we cannot have society as it should be till all parts of the great choir of humanity are allowed to join in the song of freedom. America's glory is the freedom of aspiration for man—I ask that woman's right be considered the same.

He expressed himself surprised, in reviewing the record of the early discussion of woman rights, to see how little there was in it to merit the ridicule with which it was then greeted, and which he then shared in a degree. Since that day woman has established her right to a much wider field of labor than was then open to her, and has made great progress in securing honorable employment and better remuneration, but she is not yet receiving justice. She is not yet allowed equality in education. Years ago, while teaching at the West, he met a Dutchman who would not allow his daughters to

arn to write, for fear that they would be ... th the boys. Here we are somewhat advanced from is position, but we are not yet granting women her l right in education. In our high school, up to the me of graduation, the girls have taken more than their are of medals. Why may they not go beyond the h schools and through college as well as their others? It it is not thought desirable to admit them Harvard with boys, then let the State establish an stitution of equal rank, here in Worcester it may be, here girls may obtain a complete education.

Lower grades of civilization have restricted woman narrow and ignoble conditions, but enlightened Christianity has elevated her to freedom in society and e man of to-day is but half educated while she has been removed from a free commingling with the other sex in e social intercourse of life. But even here, we are ly half civilized; the wife is in too many cases only appendage of the husband, and can never decide for rself even in the most trivial questions of every day e. He asked that every disability, obstacle, or wall law, custom or prejudice shall be removed, and let woman choose her own calling, career and destiny. It s false education which presents marriage as the only enue open to woman. If this fails why should she main a burden to her parents rather than take some ngenial pursuit and become self-sustaining?

He felt that there is too much truth in the assertion at woman does not want to vote. She is too indifferent. Elm street women would no doubt be content st at home in silks, velvets, and idleness, and express difference to the great questions of society. They could be awakened and interested. Household work noble so far as it is well done; but woman has capacities which are beyond this, and she should employ em. She can do her whole duty at home, and still e light of her mind and heart can shine beyond its e. Woman should be interested in questions which ect the church, the town and the state. Men have ...l politics, and have made it a poor, mean scram- for office, still the cry is to keep it out of the pul- and out of society as an unclean thing. Do men o think feel that this is the true character of politics? ...t the application of the golden rule of the Gos- l to all public questions, of finance, tariff, charity education? Is it not to secure justice in the State? The evil state of politics is no excuse for women to glect to vote. Will men abandon their power there use they may meet drunken rowdies there? We ed every intelligent vote so much the more. Give e opportunity and intelligent women will vote. We told that only the vile and bad will vote. This eting is to discuss a question of State, of politics, l who are here? is it all the bad women in Worces- Are not the virtue, modesty and intelligence of the men of our city fairly represented here? The speaker ntinued, earnestly urging the importance of the bal- as a moral power, for which its possessors are re- onsible, and asking that women have liberty to dis- arge the duty. He was willing that the question of men in office should take its chances. There is no essity either way; the man that don't want office, d that the people don't want, is not likely to be elect- and the thing will settle itself. He said the asser- n that we have too many voters already is erroneous. England only one man in six has the ballot, and the gument there against the extension of suffrage is the me. It is the argument of Louis Napoleon, and was argument of the old slave masters. It is tyranny ever. We ask its overthrow in all nations for all here at home let us carry it one step further and ke suffrage as impartial and universal as human re- nsibility.

Rev. Mr. Huntington desired to define his position the question—as it had apparently been misappre- ed by some of the speakers. He stood on the nciple that man and woman have an appropriate k and an appropriate place. He advocated the mplete education of woman, but did not approve of taking a larger part than she now does in public af- s, for four reasons. It would give her a degree of city which a majority of the best women do not are, and they have a right to be consulted in the tter: woman's influence in public affairs should be rved and is best exerted by indirect efforts at home, ere she can do more than in the Legislature or in ngress; no laws to regulate wages or employment effectual; and such a change would bring about of female manners and morals as no good citizen for the girls of his family. These points he to have understood, and believed they had not been confuted.

Rev. Mr. Shippen desired briefly to state the answer Rev. Mr. Huntington's points, as it appeared in his n mind. To the first and second points be answered at he did not desire greater publicity for women, and s not necessary. She can read and converse at home, the majority of men do. This requires no publicity. omen discuss the addresses of Wendell Phillips and na Dickinson, and put forth opinions. It is not ting them to publicity to open the ballot-box to m any more than walking in the street, or going to store or a church. The women of this city to-day are tter informed in regard to the condition and needs of lic schools than the men, and in the election of l committees they should be allowed to vote at re.

It is true that no law can be made regulating work d wages, and it is not desired. Woman has gained h in this respect already, but there are laws relat- g to property which unjustly discriminate against oman, and these her vote will remove. Woman's in- ence cannot be so great in the family circle alone, in the family circle and with the ballot. She does ot abandon one in accepting the other, but both will rk in harmony. The last objection he believed to included in and answered with the first.

This closed the discussion, apparently much to the gret of the audience. It was announced that the next ession will be held next Tuesday evening at Wash- n Hall. Hon. George F. Hoar is expected to take e affirmative, and Dr. S. B. Bartholemew the nega- ve. Other speakers will also join in the discussion.

MISS DICKINSON AT ELMIRA.

ELMIRA, N. Y., March 24th.

DEAR MR. POWELL: ANNA DICKINSON gave us a mag- nificent speech last Friday. It was touchingly beauti- to see that fair young girl stand and plead with ose men for liberty and justice to the black race! I never loved her more! Such a precious revelation of her own mind, conscience, courage, faith! The El- Republicans had just suffered defeat, and per- were softened to hear her exhortations, that it was better to take defeat with open principles than such victory with principles concealed behind the smoke of one man's cigar. She warned the Republi- cans of New York not to withhold justice from their black men, as Ohio had done. Her rebuke of Hancock riding through the streets of New Orleans with Jeff. Davis, was noble and eloquent. She declared it the great marvel of the century that the old rebels should now be the aristocrats, and were in position to wield power and influence. Robert Lee, head of a college, and loyal Northern men like Ward Beecher giving money to it!

This bold, outspoken criticism is of unspeakable value in a community, that hears no other voice not pledged to the service of party—like this town, and many other places Miss Dickinson visits so far and wide in the land. It is matter of gratitude that she has health and heroism to get away beyond the Mississippi this Winter, and speak her freest word for justice to the black man, and right to woman.

SALLIE HOLLEY.

INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT.—Authors who may be unable to attend the meeting at the Historical Rooms, corner of 2d avenue and 11th street, on the evening of April 9th, are requested to send their address and opin- ions upon International copyright to the Chairman of the Committee.

GEORGE P. PUTNAM, 661 Broadway, New York.

THE New Orleans *Republican* says that twenty freed- men, who engaged at Key West to go down the Florida coast to cut timber there, sailed last week on the brig Pat Cleburne and the small schooner Lost Cause, but their pretended employers, instead of proceeding to the Florida coast, ran the vessel into Matanzas, where it is presumed the intention of the kidnappers was to sell them into slavery. After the arrival of the vessel at Matanzas the United States consul directed his efforts towards capturing the kidnappers and protect- ing their victims. There have been strong suspicions for a long time that parties were engaged in kidnap- ping freedmen on the Florida coast, and running them over to Cuba.

KLAN.

CINCINNATI, March 28, 1868.

THE *Gazette* has a dispatch saying that the murder- ous Ku Klux Klan left documents in Mr. Patrick Ha- ney's house, near Waverley, Tenn., a few days ago, warning him to quit the country. He paid no atten- tion to it, but kept on with his work. Subsequently, a large company of rebels, disguised and armed, dragged him out of his house at about midnight, carried him to a creek three miles distant, tied a rope round his neck, and dragged him up and down the creek, pulled out his hair and beard, kicked and whipped him, and left him lying unconscious in the woods. He was found the following evening by his wife. Mr. Haney is well known in Nashville as a lover of the Union. The Ku Klux visited the house of George Bryant, colored, last night, eight miles from Nashville, and demanded ad- mission. Not having any faith in their ghostly pro- fessions, the colored man denied them admission, but leveled his gun on them, and they made a precipitate retreat. He recognized in one of the scoundrels a neighbor named Warren, and has taken out a warrant for his arrest. The *Vidette* (Ku Klux organ) has pub- lished an extra, warning Union men and negroes not to leave their homes until after the election.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—The recording of a vote by a wo- man at the recent Manchester election gives a practical interest to the discussion, into which Mr. Anstey goes at some length, of the legal interpretation of the term "man" in the new Reform act. By Lord Romilly's act for shortening the language of acts of Parliament it is provided that "in all acts words importing the mas- culine gender shall be deemed and taken to include fe- males, unless the contrary be expressly provided. But, notwithstanding Mr. Disraeli's assumption in his saucy answer to Mr. Denman that this express provision was supplied in the Reform bill, nothing of the kind is to be found either in the original measure or in the act as finally passed. Throughout the whole of the act the word "man" is used without anything to indicate or confirm its exclusive application to males, and therefore according to Lord Romilly's act, just referred to, man must, under such circumstances, be held to include woman. According to this construction Mr. Mill need not have troubled himself to propose the substituting of the term "person," seeing that his object was already attained. At the same time the division on Mr. Mill's proposal showed clearly enough the determination of the House to have nothing to do with female voters: still the question is whether the courts of law, if the point were carried before them, would take any notice of the intention of the Legislature, or would insist on reading the words in their legal meaning. A woman may of course be a householder or freeholder or bur- gage tenant or parishioner, and it has been decided by the Court of Queen's Bench that she may answer the description of a "person paying scot and lot within the City of London." A woman is not disqualified from filling the office of High Chamberlain, High Constable, overseer, returning officer at elections, common con- stable, or sexton; and her title to be excused from va- rious public duties does not necessarily imply her dis- ability to discharge them. In a well-known case, Olive v. Ingram in 1739, Lord Chief-Justice Lee referred to a decision in Holt v. Lyle, that "a *feme sole* freeholder may claim a voice for Parliament men; but if married, her husband must vote for her." And some of the other judges on the bench said they could see no dis- ability in a woman for voting at a parliamentary elec- tion. On the whole, therefore, Mr. Anstey concludes that women are not disqualified from voting. It is scarcely likely that the courts would ignore the force of custom in the matter and endorse the female claim; but the proper way to settle the difficulty is to make the new act perfectly positive and explicit on this point.—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

CARD OF EXPLANATION FROM "NED BUNTLINE."

To the Editor of the New York Times:

FEARING, from the absence of any remark, that a little rhyme, read at the people's meeting in favor of the present Excise law, noticed in your paper (4th inst.) only by its title, "The Rum Seller's Rights," should be understood as favoring a class whom I look upon as ac- cessories in nine-tenths of the crimes and the primary cause of full two-thirds of the pauperism of the city, I beg to state that it was satirical in the title as well as in matter, for I believe their so-called rights to be nothing but a mass of wrongs upon the community, in every shape. Murderers and robbers, dealing out continual death, robbing men of reputation, health, honor and all that makes life precious; robbing children of bread, homes of every comfort, men of all the results of in- dustry, the rum-sellers are a curse to the land. Such is my private opinion, publicly expressed.

E. Z. C. JUDSON, ("Ned Buntline.")

THE NEW ENGLAND M. E. CONFERENCE APPROVES IM- PEACHMENT.—*Boston, March* 28.—During the session of the Conference of the New England Methodist Episco- pal Church, the Committee on the Course of the Coun- try, through the Rev. Gilbert Haven, unanimously adopted resolutions approving impeachment, and eulo- gizing Gen. Grant and Secretary Stanton for their pa- triotic conduct. It was voted to send copies to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Presi- dent of the Senate, Secretary Stanton, Gen. Grant, and the Chief-Justice of the United States.

LITERARY.

'A DEFENCE OF VIRGINIA, AND THROUGH HER, OF THE SOUTH, IN RECENT AND PENDING CONTESTS AGAINST THE SECTIONAL PARTY. By Prof. Robert L. Dab- ney, D.D., of Virginia, late of the Confederate ar- my. New York: E. J. Hale & Son, 16 Murray street. 1867.' 12 mo. pp. 356.

ONCE more, but probably for the last time, a Reverend Doctor of Divinity writes an elaborate and thorough- going defence of slavery. He does not dream of affect- ing "the perverted judgment of the great anti-slavery party which now rules the hour;" he lays this pious and filial defence upon the tomb of his "murdered mo- ther, Virginia"; and he weeps over the fact that slavery is "totally overthrown, and never to be restored" there. Abolitionism is now more rampant and mis- chievous than ever. It lives, he thinks, as infidelity in the Church, and as Jacobinism in the State; and its worst consequences have been, not taking the property, the privileges, the lives, but "degrading and debauch- ing the moral sensibilities and principles" of the slave- holders: by which he means, we suppose, that a good many of them are now seeing the folly as well as the wickedness which were always inherent in slavery.

"To the rational historian of the future it will appear, Dr. Dabney thinks, "one of the most curious vagaries of human opinion that the Christianity and philanthro- py of our day should have given so disproportionate an attention to the evils of African slavery:" this whim or fashion, however, actually exists; and its results have borne hard upon the Southern people, in great part through the venomous disposition of the Yankees, who, "having the manufacture of American books chiefly in their hands [how came that? we wonder!], took pains to fill Europe and their own country with industrious slanders against their own brethren." Their motive for this was "to reduce the South to a state of colonial de- pendency upon themselves, and exclude all other na- tions from *the rich plunder which they were accustomed to draw from the oppressed section.*"—pp. 11, 12.

"The error of their politicians, Dr. Dabney tells us, was that "They failed to meet the Abolitionists with sufficient persistence and force on the radical question —the *righteousness* of African servitude as existing among us."—p. 13. This fundamental point did indeed receive discussion at the South "chiefly at the hands of clergymen and literary men, which has evoked a number of works of the highest merit and power. . . . . But such is the customary and overweening egot- ism of the Yankee mind, that none of these works, whatever their merit, could ever obtain circulation or general reading at the North."—pp. 13, 14.

He suggests (p. 15) "two courses, either of which might have been followed by our politicians, in defend- ing our Federal rights against Abolitionism. One plan would have been, to exclude the whole question of slavery persistently from the national councils, as extra- constitutional and dangerous, and to assert this exclu- sion always, and at every risk, as the essential condition of the continuance of the South in those councils. The other plan was, to meet that abstract question from the first, as underlying and determining the whole subject, and to debate it everywhere until it was decided, and the verdict of the national mind was passed upon it. Unfortunately, the Southern men did neither persist- ently."

Having thrown out these introductory suggestions, Dr. Dabney proceeds to say, (pp. 21-2), "the cause of our defence is the cause of God's Word, and of its su- preme authority over the human conscience. For, as we shall evince, that Word is on our side, and the teach- ings of Abolitionism are clearly of rationalistic origin, of infidel tendency, and only sustained by reckless and licentious perversions of the meaning of the Sacred text. . . . . The anti-Scriptural, infidel and radi- cal grounds upon which our assailants have placed them- selves, make our cause practically the cause of truth and order."

The position which Dr. Dabney takes in this volume is, "that the relation of master and slave is recognized as lawful in itself by a sound philosophy, and above all, by the Word of God," and he proposes "to argue this proposition chiefly on Bible grounds."

The style of remark throughout the first part of the book shows that what he has been praising and defend- ing, and the cessation of which he laments, is slavery as it actually existed in Virginia, which included, noto- riously, not only the purchase and sale of men, women and children, without regard to family ties, but the rais- ing, for sale to travelling traders in that article, a crop of negro, mulatto, quadroon and octoroon children. Keeping this in mind, it must be observed as note- worthy and peculiar that, when he defines slavery for the purpose of proving it to be authorized by the Bible, he restricts it to "*obligations of the slave to labor, without his own consent, for the master.*" He says again, "*it is not the person, but the labor of the slave, which is the mas- ter's property.*"—p. 94.

Let it be noted here that, even if he could obtain au- thentication of slavery to this extent, from the Bible, he would not thus make a justification of Virginia, nor even begin to palliate the infamy of her "vigintial crop," which made her undoubtedly the *meanest* of the slaveholding States. We now come to Dr. Dabney's scriptural argument.

The Curse upon Canaan.—"In this transaction, Noah acts as an inspired prophet, and also as the divinely chosen, patriarchal head of Church and State. . . . God's approbation attended his verdict, as is proved by the fact that the divine Providence has been executing it for many ages since Noah's death." pp. 101-2.—"This important piece of history gives us the origin of domes- tic slavery. And we find that it was appointed by God as the punishment of, and remedy for (nearly all God's providential chastisements are also remedial) the pecu- liar moral degradation of a part of the race.—p. 103.

At the close of this section Prof. Dabney uses the fi- gure of speech called "coming out at the little end of the horn." He says—

"It may be that we should find little difficulty in trac- ing the lineage of the present Africans to Ham. But this inquiry is not essential to our argument. If one case is found where God has authorized domestic slave- ry, the principle is settled that it cannot necessarily be sin in itself."

Let us glance back at this movement to see how far we have got in the *argument.* Since Noah had lately been drunk, and was still very angry, when he "cussed" Canaan, of course he spoke as a prophet. That is be- yond question. Nowadays, angry cursing is supposed to exhaust its force upon the individual addressed; but prophetic cursing, in patriarchal times, stuck to the whole posterity, to the thirtieth and fortieth generation. Hasty persons might conclude, even supposing this curse upon Canaan to descend to his children, that it was sufficiently fulfilled when Joshua subjugated or slaughtered the Canaanites in Palestine. But how then would the pious Virginians have got their slaves? How else could they have a patriarchal supply of concubines? And how could they have lived without work, if they had had no mulatto children to sell?

"*Abraham a Slaveholder.*"—Finding it recorded that Abraham and Isaac had "great store of servants," Dr. Dabney assumes that they were great slaveholders; and to the objection that Abraham, on one occasion, put arms in the hands of three hundred and eighteen of these servants, he says, p. 106—"The retort most ap- propriate would be, that Abraham was not afraid to arm his slaves, though actual slaves, because there were no saucy, meddling, Yankee Abolitionists in those days to preach insubordination, and make ill blood between masters and servants."

Our author proceeds to declare that God remanded Hagar to slavery, and that slavery was appointed in the laws of Moses, and assumed as lawful in the de- calogue. In this last item his hardihood of assump- tion shines conspicuous, for he assumes that the deca- logue was "given for all men and all dispensations," and that "our Saviour repeatedly adopts it as the eternal sum of all duty, on which hang all the law and the prophets." We need not pause to remark on this lavishness of false statement, since it characterizes the whole book.

Coming to "the New Testament argument," he de- clares that slavery, though often mentioned there, is not condemned—that Christ applauds slaveholders— that the Apostles separate slavery and its abuses—that slavery is no essential religious evil—that slaveholders were fully admitted to church membership—and that the relative duties of masters and slaves are recognized.

The epistle to Philemon shows St. Paul "enjoining on the newly-awakened conscience of Onesimus the du- ty of returning to his master," the transaction clearly implying "a moral propriety or ownership in Onesi- mus's labor, as pertaining to Philemon." Also, in the first epistle to Timothy (vi, 3–5), "St. Paul reprobates Abolitionists," and "commands the exclusion of Aboli- tionist teachers from church communion.

As it is an important point with Dr. Dabney that the primitive church was full of Christian slaves and Christ- ian slaveholders, and that Abolitionists had not yet appeared, it became necessary to account for the as- sumed edict against them; and he does it in this inge- nious fashion:

"We have here a striking proof that his pen was guided by omniscient foreknowledge. The God who told Paul what to write foresaw that, though the primi- tive church stood in comparatively slight need of such admonitions, the century would come, after the lapse of eighteen ages, when the church would be invaded and defiled with the deadly spirit of modern Abolitionism, a spirit perverse, blind, divisive and disorganizing, which would become the giant scourge and opprobrium of Christianity."—p. 187.

Our champion of Virginia next advances to the cita- del, and declares "The Golden Rule compatible with Slavery." Any different opinion, he maintains, is of "Socinian and Rationalistic character," proceeding from a desire "to misrepresent and degrade the Old Testament law." p. 193.—Here follows his demonstra- tion, (!) italicised by himself:

"The Golden Rule is the summary of the morality of the Pentateuch and Old Testament prophets. We repeat that there is not one trait of love, of benevo- lence, of sweet expansive fraternity, of amiable equity, contained in any of Christ's precepts or parables, that is not also found in the laws of Moses. Their moral teachings are absolutely one, in principle; and so they must be, if both are from the unchangeable God. To say otherwise is a denial of inspiration; it is infi- delity; and indeed abolitionism is infidelity. Our reply then is, *that Christ's giving the law of love cannot be in- consistent with his authorizing slaveholding; because Moses gave the same law of love, and yet indisputably authorized slaveholding.*"—p. 195.

We wonder whether *Professor* Dabney was Professor of *Logic* in some institution of learning in Virginia, be- fore he went into the Confederate army. At any rate, the way in which he brings false premises to an absurd conclusion, shows that he has correct ideas in regard to symmetry and proportion.

To the question whether the diffusion of the pure and blessed principles of the Gospel will not *ultimately* ex- tinguish all forms of slavery, our pious Professor an- swers, "Yes, we devoutly trust it will; not by making masters too righteous to hold slaves, but by so correct- ing the ignorance, thriftlessness, indolence and vice *of laboring people,* that the institution of slavery will be no longer needed."—p. 206.

What a mercy that there are no such things as igno- rance, thriftlessness, indolence and vice among the non-laboring classes in Virginia! If such faults did exist, it would be somebody's Heaven-appointed duty to enslave even the F. F. V.'s; the 'fust families" of Virginia!

Beautiful and excellent as slavery is, both in theory and practice, our Professor candidly admits "that slavery may not be the *beau ideal* of the social organiza- tion; that there is a true evil in the necessity for it; but this evil is not slavery, but the ignorance and vice in the laboring classes, of which slavery is the useful and righteous remedy." p. 207.—How the laboring classes can remain so abominably lazy, never profiting by the conspicuous industry of the non-laboring classes in Virginia, is mysterious and unaccountable.

In the section "Misrepresentations Cleared," our worthy Doctor settles this subject effectually in a single sentence, as follows: "The popular apprehension of the slave's condition and treatment, spread throughout Europe and the North, *is utterly false.*" p. 213.—But, strange to say, in going over the details of these charges, he gives reasons intended to explain and justify the slaveholding customs in question, from which they would seem to be true, notwithstanding the foregoing wholesale denial. Thus he says (p. 220)—

"The penal code of Virginia was *properly* made dif- ferent in the case of the whites and the blacks, because of the lower moral tone of the latter. Many things which are severe penalties to the white man, would be no punishment to the negro . . . . . . The slave was not permitted to testify against a white [...] grade of truthfulness, his difference of race, and the fact that he was to so great a degree subject to the will of another. But the seeming severity of this restriction was almost wholly removed, among us, by the fact that he always had, in his master, an interested and zealous patron and guardian, in all collisions with other white men. From oppression by his own master he found his sufficient protection, usually, in affection and self- interest." (!!)

There! if any slave, or ex-slave, will get into the same space *more* evidence of "a low moral tone," of a "low grade of truthfulness," than the above paragraph contains, we will freely admit him to be a most accom- plished liar. But this is only one specimen among many of our Professor's talent at mendacity.

This elaborate vindication of *caste,* in a community, and by a person pretending to be Christian, is a part of what Dr. Dabney calls "The Ethical Argument." Ano- ther passage from it is the following:

"Our laws did not, as many seem to represent, pro- hibit or delegalize the marriage of slaves, but were simply silent about them. *The meaning of this silence was, to leave the whole matter to the control of the master.*" —p. 228.

Could any condemnation paint the matter in a worse light than this attempt at vindication? The Reverend rascal's own statement shows that the *intent* of the law was for the slave to have *so much wife* as his master, under the circumstances, was pleased to allow him, and no more.

We pass from the master's right over the slave's wife to his right over her children. Our author says, p. 232:

"Anti-Slavery men often talk as though the right of slave parents to the control and education of their children were so indefeasible and native that it is a na- tural wrong to permit the authority of the master over them to override that of the parents. *This we utterly deny.*"

Under "The Ethical Argument" we are further told, p. 273: "The slave received due wages." To prove this is as easy as lying; so our author says:

"Southern slaves received, on the average, better and more certain compensation than any laboring people of their capacity in the world. *It came to them in the form of that maintenance* which the master was bound by the law, as well as his own interests, to bestow upon them."

That is, they received just as much wages as the master's cattle received.

Our space will allow the citation of but few more of the gems with which "The Etherical Argument" abounds.

"Southern slavery was the most efficient temperance society in the world."—p. 281.

"We might safely submit the comparative soundness of Southern society to this test: that it has never gener- ated any of those loathsome *isms* which Northern soil breeds as rankly as the slime of Egypt its spawn of frogs."—p. 285.

"But the crowning refutation of this slander against Southern morals is presented by the great war lately concluded—a refutation whose glory repays us for long years."—p. 285,6.

"The comparative general virtue of Southern mas- ters, and the purity of Southern Christianity, are a strong evidence that we were not living in a criminal relation, as to the African race."—p. 287.

Finally, our Reverend Professor, being a true son of Virginia, marches boldly up to the defence of her slave-breeding system, as of her other peculiarities, thus:

"It was the honor of Virginia that she was a man- breeding commonwealth."—p. 342.

"The Christian parents who rejoice in children as a gift of the Lord, and a blessing to him who hath his quiver full of them, are 'slave-breeders,' because they make their children useful, and hope to find them sup- ports to their old age."—p. 313.

We may say, in conclusion, of this book, that not- withstanding the false statements and false assump- tions with which it abounds, there is fact enough re- vealed in the author's attempts at defence of the most abominable features of slavery to insure the condemna- tion of that institution by any candid and intelligent reader.

The publishers of this book, judging by their adver- tisement at its close, seem to make a speciality of pro- slavery and rebel literature. They are "(late of Fayette- ville, North Carolina,)" and they advertise not only various historical books of Confederate authorship, but a large variety of "Southern School-books," among which are the "North Carolina Reader," Nos. 1, 2, and 3—"Holmes's Southern Pictorial Primer"—"Holmes's Southern Elementary Speller"—"Holmes's Southern Pictorial 1st Reader," followed by "2d, 3d, 4th and 5th"—"Sterling's Southern Primer"—do. do. "Picto- rial"—do. do. "Speller," and five "Readers"—and "Ross's Southern Speaker"—all which are offered, cheap for cash, to "their friends and the Southern public."

A FRENCH COUNTRY FAMILY. By Madame De Witt- nee Guizot. Translated by Dinah Mulock Craik. 216 pages. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This book presents a charming picture of country family life, in a home where purity and simplicity blend their refining influences, and where earnest, hon- est labor is not considered a disgrace. Parents may find suggestive hints for family government in the kind, judicious management of Monsieur and Madame Bessard, and children will quickly catch the beautiful lessons of benevolence and self-restraint from the ex- periences of Edourd, Charles, Gustave, Paul, Lucie and the orphaned Pauline. Their faults are faithfully portrayed as well as their heroic struggles in the attain- ment of virtues. There is a refreshing naturalness in the recital of these family trials and pleasures, and the style is chaste and simple. It introduces us to a phase of French life which we seldom see described, and shows that human nature is essentially the same in all countries and climes. The book is neatly bound and contains six pleasing illustrations. Mrs. Mulock Craik will receive thanks from many households for having furnished the translation of such an unexcep- tionable book for family reading.

THE RED CROSS; or Young America in England and Wales. By Oliver Optic. 336 pages. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

This is the third volume of the popular series, "Young America Abroad," by Oliver Optic. The story recounts the remarkable adventures of Paul Kendall in command of the Josephine, his trials and perplexities as captain, with the good and evil characters under his charge as seamen. They visit London, Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, Bristol and many other lo- calities of interest, and acquire some valuable knowl- edge of the geography and history of Great Britain. Those who become interested in this party of adven- turers will be glad to learn, as they leave them on the low shores of Belgium, that Oliver Optic promises their continued history shall be recorded under the title of "Dykes and Ditches, or Young America in Hol- land and Belgium."

Blackwood's Magazine for March presents the follow- ing contents: The Church in the Army and Navy; Linda Tressel—Part VI., The Temporal Power of the Papacy. A Fenian Alarm: The National Character of the Old English Universities; Letters from a Staff- Officer with the Abyssinian Expedition; Opposition Tactics.

The *Evening Post* says: "Mrs. Caroline H. Dall's well-known book, 'The College, the Market and the Court,' has been issued in a new edition, which con- tains important additions, some corrections, an index, and some notes on the unfortunate Dr. Todd, who was lately so shockingly mangled by Miss Gail Hamilton. Mrs. Dall's book has been very well spoken of abroad, as indeed it deserves—for it is the most eloquent and forcible statement of the Woman's Question which has been made."

MR. WM. P. TOMLINSON, of New York, has in press, to be published May 1st, the "Life of A. P. Dostie," the victim of the New Orleans massacre of July 30th, 1866, by Mrs. Emily Hazen Reed, who was a resident of that city through the dark days of the rebellion.

RECEIVED.

THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW. By Henry White. With illustrations. 485 pages. New York: Har- per & Brothers.

[...] trations by G. Du Maurier. 348 pages. New York: Harper & Brothers.

ELDER JACOB KNAPP'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY. 341 pages. New York: Sheldon & Company.

THREE LITTLE SPADES. By Anna Warner. 268 pages. New York: Harper & Brother.

Harper's Bazar. A repository of fashion, pleasure and instruction. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Public Spirit. A monthly magazine for the million. April. New York: Le Grand Benedict, 37 Park Row.

Our School Day Visitor for April. Philadelphia: J. W. Daughaday & Co.

American Anti-Slavery Society.

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SPRING HAS COME.

INTRA MUROS.

BY OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

THE sunbeams lost for half a year,
  Slant through my pane their morning rays;
For dry northwesters cold and clear,
  The east blows in its thin blue haze.

And first the snow drop's bells are seen,
  Then close against the sheltering wall
The tulip's horn of dusky green,
  The peony's dark unfolding ball.

The golden chaliced crocus burns;
  The long narcissus' blades appear;
The cone-beaked hyacinth returns
  To light her blue-flamed chandelier.

The willow's whistling lashes, wrung
  By the wild winds of the gusty March,
With sallow leaflets lightly strung,
  Are swaying by the tufted larch.

The elms have robed their slender spray
  With full-blown flower and embryo leaf;
Wide o'er the clasping arch of day
  Soars like a cloud their hoary chief.

See the proud tulip's flaunting cup,
  That flames in glory for an hour—
Behold it withering—then look up—
  How meek the forest monarch's flower!

When wake the violets, Winter dies;
  When sprout the elm-buds, Spring is near;
When lilacs blossom, Summer cries,
  "Bud, little roses! Spring is here."

The windows blush with fresh bouquets,
  Cut with the May-dew on their lips;
The radish all its bloom displays,
  Pink as Aurora's finger-tips.

Nor less the flood of light that showers
  On beauty's changed corolla shades—
The walks are gay as bridal bowers
  With rows of many petalled maids.

The scarlet shell-fish click and clash
  In the blue barrow where they slide;
The horseman, proud of streak and splash,
  Creeps homeward from his morning ride.

Here comes the dealers awkward string,
  With neck in rope and tail in knot,—
Rough colts, with careless country-swing,
  In lazy walk or slouching trot.

—Wild filly from the mountain side,
  Doomed to the close and chafing thills,
Lend me thy long untiring stride
  To seek with thee thy western hills!

I hear the whispering voice of Spring
  The thrush's thrill, the robin's cry,
Like some poor bird with prisoned wing
  That sits and sings and longs to fly.

O for one spot of living green—
  One little spot where leaves can grow,—
To love unblamed, to walk unseen,
  To dream above, to sleep below!

TABLE TALK.

ALL the biographies which record conversations—Plutarch, Xenophon, Coleridge, Haydon and the others—are fascinating, and so far as true, better and more interesting than formal biographies. The real source of all biography is the confession of the man himself to somebody. Only so far as he tells his secret can it be known.

Seek society. Keep your friendships in repair. Answer your letters. Meet good will half way. All good men excite each other's activity. Better things are said, more incisive, more wit and insight are dropped in talk and forgotten by the speaker, than get into books. We have not learned to avail ourselves of the powers of our companions.

The experience of the talker is the experience of the orator. The problem of both is the same, only one is private, the other public. The orator's problem is to make a poor, unpopular, down-looking cause—a thin, cold, down-looking assembly—warm, bright, firm, honorable, proud, popular, jubilant; the one great cause and assembly in the world. And the effect of every good converser is, from poor beginnings, just the same. Some Frenchman has said that "oratory is the art of saying everything without been put in the Bastile, in a country where you are forbidden to say anything."

War is a potent tonic to conversation; it re-enforces observation and restores energy. Politics, parties, theories, religions, are all asses loaded with panniers to serve the kitchen of intellect, the king. Everything passes into lever or weapon. When conversation is best, it is a series of intellectual exercises; the college where we learn what thoughts are, what becomes of them, how they make history! The wise man comes to this game to play upon others and be played upon. He is as curious to know what can be drawn from him, as what he can draw from them.

It is related that a company of Parisians, after an excursion, necessitated to reach Paris, returned in two coaches. The first, on their arrival, had rueful accidents to relate, a terrific thunder-storm, danger and fear, and gloom to the whole company. The others heard these particulars with surprise; the storm, the mud, the danger; they knew nothing of all these; they had forgotten earth; they had breathed a higher air. Such a conversation between Madame de Stael and Madame Recamier! It had made them insensible to all rough weather and disagreeable accidents.

It was Madam de Stael who said—"If it were not for my respect for human opinion, I would not open my window to see the Bay of Naples for the first time; while I would go five hundred leagues to talk with a man of genius whom I had not seen."

Sincere and happy conversation doubles our power. In the effort to unfold our thought to a friend we make it clearer to ourselves. Conversation fills all gaps, supplies all deficiencies; but the defects of men hinder this Paradise. Very rare are the high and fine gifts which make its perfection. The scholar, the philosopher, is probably an unmagnetic man, and cannot conform his conversation with his genius; he sits and suffers. The French say, "He is a blockhead; he is nothing but a genius." He who has not tired his shipmates on a long voyage has won better laurels than the Academy can bestow. But there are men too superior to be seen except by the few, as there are notes too high for the scale of most ears. Such men are great only to one or two companions. There are faults in men of ability that hinder conversation. I have seen a man of genius who made one think if others were like him co-operation were impossible. He was always ready with some captious paradox to fight you with. Must we always talk for victory, never for comfort and joy?

Another hindrance is the disposition to fun and untimely jokes. Beware of them. They are condiments: inestimable for sauce, but corrupting food. You go away from such banquets hollow and ashamed.

There are people who cannot be cultivated; you must keep them down and quiet them as you can: people on whom speech makes no impression. Shun the negative side. Never worry people with your contractions. Never name sickness, and, above all, beware of unmuzzling the valetudinarian.

A sentiment, a flame of affection, or a delight, the love of the mother for her child, of the child for its mate, the youth for his friend, the scholar for his pursuit, the boy for sea-life, the patriot for his country, the philanthropist's desire to spend and be spent for some romantic danger, John Brown for the slave, the heroes and heroines of the Sanitary Commission, and the Christian Commission—no matter what the object—is all good, if it is flame or desire, and makes life sweet and dear, and re-enforces the heart. But society in towns is infested by a class who, seeing that the sentiments please, seek to produce effects by counterfeiting the expression; sentimentalists who mistake description for the thing. They have an intense love of nature; they adore poetry, and art, pictures, the moon, the Cadets, and the Governor. They worship virtue, *dear* virtue, and almost make the name hateful with their praise. The warmer their expression, the colder we grow.

The soul is lost by mimicking soul. And the innocence and ignorance of the patient is the first difficulty in the way of cure. He believes his disease is blooming health. The best cure might be to fight fire with fire, and match a sentimentalist with a sentimentalist. They might begin to suspect something was wrong.

The law of the table is beauty and respect to the common soul of all the partakers. Lovers abstain from carresses, haters from insults, while they sit in one parlor with common friends. Everything is unseasonable which is private to two or three, or to any portion of the company. Tact never violates this law, never introduces any topic impertinent to the entire company, and tact is very miserable when these outrages occur.

When people come to see us we foolishly prattle, and think it necessary in order to be hospitable; but such conversations are chalk eggs. The honest man must keep faith with himself; his sheet-anchor is sincerity. Losing this, he loses the talent of his talent. What we want is not your activity, not your interference, but your habitual truth. Stay at home. The way to have large occasional views is to have large habitual views. Let nature bear the expense. Let our eyes meet. Look not abroad for materials for conversation, but rest; first feel your subject fully; then discourse, if speaking be really more grateful than silence. Make yourself the vehicle of truth. We must be warmed by the fire of sympathy to be brought into the right condition. A man cannot utter many sentences without announcing where he stands, whether in the kingdom of the senses and the understanding, of ideas and imagination, or in the realm of intuitions and duty.

The natural progress of population helps the social needs of mankind by the creation of great cities. The course of events is to make large cities larger by geometrical increase. For certain social needs there are great advantages in a central capital, which represents the power and genius of the nation. This we have not in America. Paris has been for many hundred years the fair city containing everything convenient and attractive—learning, thought and culture. It has earned the praise of being the social centre of the world—of art, science, of the schools, universities, palaces and libraries; drawing everything distinguished to itself. Paris is terribly derisive of all absurd pretensious but its own. But its supreme merit is that it is the city of conversation and *cafés*. Its influence upon the whole of Europe, especially of social Europe, is perpetually brought to mind. There is in European society and in France especially, a feature more friendly than our own.

Some Western court has defined a town to be "a place where whiskey is sold." He would define a city as a place where a man could go into a *café*, and, while drinking his cup of coffee, meet and converse with men of letters and of science, and enjoy the refreshment of society. Our institutions of daily necessity can be arranged to secure such benefits, and this should be the aim of every philanthropist at home. We should welcome every means to promote the intercourse of men. We should overcome our national spites.

The *naïvité* with which England accuses Americans of love of money is beautiful. So every nation accuses every other nation as if it could be otherwise; men being such and money being such. Frenchmen say there is no music in England. Englishmen retort the charge. France charges brutality on English journalism and English diplomacy. England retorts on the want of poetic genius, the corruptions of domestic life, the want of common sense, as England understands it, in all departments in France. So the one safe topic for an American meeting an Englishman is France and Frenchmen, whom both can abuse at pleasure. Everywhere one meets the same nationality. We are familiar with the great utterance, "I am a man as well as a Roman, and nothing human is foreign to me." The French woman says, "I am a woman and a Parisian, and nothing foreign to me appears altogether human."

The triumph of culture is to overpower nationality. It is an amiable illusion, which the shape of our planet prompts, that every man is at the top of the world. Much is to be said for every form of aristocracy. We cannot give ourselves too many advantages. Travel, books, access to the leaders of society, are great privileges, in good hands, but, ordinarily, those who have enjoyed them, do not turn out to be the best men. Derision and scepticism is the tone of these classes in London and Paris. He did not find among them in England, the solid dealing which can alone recommend a country to the affections.

In America, society was arranged on a plane instead of around the cone of a mountain. Here is a great middle class, with its schools, newspapers, books, for each, with the privilege of advanced culture if they choose to secure it, made serious by the duties and necessities of self-support, by labor, by the full force of moral restraint, by the pressure of all the tension and influence of humanity—a condition far more healthy to the intellect and heart than any policy which absolves the man from motive and responsibility, and connection with the race. In this country no man but is related to that middle class. Every one knows and values that relation. We cleave to it. Every sane man must keep his communication perfect with the great body of humanity.—*R. W. Emerson.*

THE WHITE ANT.—An odd story is largely credited in India in regard to the voracity of the white ant. A gentleman having charge of a chest of money placed it on the floor where it was speedily attacked by these destructives, who soon annihilated the bottom of the box and the bags containing the specie, which fell piece by piece into the hollows of the Termites's burrow just underneath the floor where the box was placed. When the coin was demanded it was not to be found, but the attacks of the ants were incontestable, and the story got abroad that their teeth were capable of devouring metal. Some years afterward when the house was undergoing repairs, the whole sum was found several feet deep in the earth in the midst of the ant-nest. White ants once attacked a British ship of the line, the Albion; she was obliged to put into port in consequence, and had to be broken up. These creatures are much relished as food among the natives of the interior of India, as well as those of Africa. In India, before the migration of the ants, two holes are bored in the nest opposite to each other; on the leeward side a pot is placed, which has been rubbed with aromatic herbs; on the windward side a fire is made, the smoke of which drives the insects into the pots. These captured victims are then securely fastened in, dried over the fire, ground into flour, and made into a pastry, which is sold to poor people, but which, if used abundantly produces dysentery. At the time of the migration of the ants in Africa, myriads of them fall into the water, which the natives skim off the surface with calabashes, then grill them in iron cauldrons over a large fire, stirring them as coffee is stirred. The natives eat them by handfuls, without accompaniment or other preparation, and consider them very delicious. They are said to resemble in taste sugared cream or sweet almond paste. The Hottentots eat them very greedily when boiled, and grow plump and fat upon the food. They also consume the pupæ of the ants, which they call rice, on account of its resemblance to that grain. They cook these in a small quantity of water. A large nest will sometimes yield a bushel of the pupæ. Dr. Livingstone, when on the banks of the Tonga, in South Africa, being visited by one of the chiefs, gave him some bread and apricot-jam, and presently asked him if he had ever before eaten any food so good. "Did you ever eat white ants?" he questioned. "No," said the Doctor. "Well, then," Palarie responded, "if you had, you never would have desired to have eaten anything better." The white ant is a common article of food among the low caste Hindoo tribes in Mysore and other districts of India. The female termite in particular is supposed by the Hindoos to be endowed with highly nutritive properties. Mr. Consett, in his travels in Sweden, in 1789, states that he knew a young Swede who ate live ants with the greatest possible relish, and in some parts of Sweden ants are distilled with the rye to give a flavor to inferior kinds of brandy.—*Ladies' Treasury.*

THE LECTURE SYSTEM.—A short time since the Hudson *Daily Register* spoke very disparagingly of the Lecture system. As an offset to this opinion we present the following extract from an article on "Bibliography," just published in one of our quarterlies by S. Austin Allibone, LL.D., of Philadelphia. Dr. Allibone is one of the prominent literary men of the country, and so far as we know, does not lecture himself. He says:

"Had the jeremiads of these solons, these opponents of the appliances of popular education been allowed to lethargize the world, the late triumphs of the English Jermyn Street, and of our American Cambridge—the admirable expositions of Owen, of Phillips, and Agassiz, would have been lost to scientific history; and many young minds, first awakened by the touch of these great masters to discover the music of the spheres, the concord of nature, and the handiwork of God, might forever have slumbered in apathetic ignorance and contented sloth. For ourselves, we say: Let able lecturers and the founders of lectures be counted worthy of double honor. Among the educational instrumentalities which have raised the character of Boston so high in the scale of literary renown, which have given her a name and a praise among the nations of Christendom, the oral lecture has been one of the most efficient. During the Winter 1838–9, twenty-six courses of lectures, not including those which consisted of less than eight lectures, delivered in Boston, were attended by about thirteen thousand five hundred persons. We presume that the records of later years would exhibit a large increase over these figures. Who can calculate the harvest of religious principle, mental culture, and scientific knowledge which has sprung, during the last twenty-five years, from the Lowell Lectures alone?"

HYMN.

BY FREDERIKA BREMER.

QUIET from God! how beautiful to keep
  This treasure, the All-merciful hath given;
To feel, when we awake and when we sleep,
  Its incense round us, like a breath from heaven!

To sojourn in the world, and yet apart;
  To dwell with God, and still with man to feel;
To bear about forever in the heart
  The gladness which His spirit doth reveal!

Who shall make trouble, then? Not evil minds,
  Which like a shadow, o'er creation lower:
The Soul which peace hath thus attunèd finds
  How strong within doth reign the Calmer's power.

What shall make trouble? Not slow-wasting pain,
  Nor even the threatening, certain stroke of death!
These do but wear away, then break, the chain
  Which bound the spirit down to things beneath.

THE LANGUAGE OF ANIMALS.

WHO has not read the Arabian Night's Entertainment? I pity the man or woman, if any such there be, who has not; or, if I do not pity them, I envy the treat in store for them, if they will turn from the error of their ways and read the fascinating book from beginning to end. Among the stories which first fixes attention is that of the merchant who understood the language of animals. In Æsop's fables, also, where the beasts and birds talk to each other and to mankind, no reader, who has a proper faith in what he reads, is in the least degree surprised at the sagacity which the animals put into the most natural language imaginable. The fox *did* say the grapes were sour; the wolf *did* fix an unconscionable quarrel upon the little lamb which it wanted to devour, and the lion *did* really express to the man its candid opinion upon the favoritism of portrait-painting. At all events, the youthful imagination sees no absurdity in the idea. This brings me to my subject—Is fable entirely wrong in this respect, and have not all animals a language of their own? Have not birds a language which other birds understand? and insects? and, for that matter, fishes? In the pride of our superior knowledge, we assert of ourselves that man is the only animal who kindles a fire, cooks food, makes clothes, and is endowed with the faculty of articulate speech. While granting our own monopoly of fire-making, cookery, and tailoring, are we quite sure that we do not arrogate to ourselves a little too much superiority when we claim that to us alone is accorded the glorious privilege of language? Philosophers are very dogmatic on the subject. But are they not a little too confident?

We know that there are many creatures on the earth who are utterly unconscious of the existence of man; and we might, if we were not too proud, ask ourselves, in like manner, if there may not be many things in the animal creation of which man is necessarily unconscious. If I walk through the woods on a bright Summer day, or sit under the oaken or beechen shadows, I am conscious of a tide and tremor of life around me. I hear the birds singing, twittering and chattering, each species with its own peculiar note. I hear the bees and flies buzzing with more or less vigor, pertinacity, and volume of sound; while a faint echo comes from the distant pastures, of the bleating of sheep, the lowing of cattle, the barking of shepherds' dogs, and the crowing of the cocks in the farm-yard. I ask myself whether all these various sounds may not be as many languages, perfectly intelligible to the creatures which speak them, though unintelligible to me. I know that some animals—the dog especially—understand many words that I employ, if I speak emphatically, and that he will do what I tell him; but, if I do not understand what one dog says to another, whose fault is it, mine or the dog's? Man may doubtless claim that he has a larger vocabulary than the inferior creation. He has wants more numerous, ideas more abundant; hopes, fears, recollections, and aspirations unknown, perhaps, to their limited intelligence, and must, consequently, have a language more copious than theirs. Language keeps pace with knowledge, intelligence and imagination. A Shakspeare may require fourteen thousand words to express all his thoughts and tell all his marvellous stories, while an ordinary person in some of our rural districts sometimes gets on satisfactory to himself, to his family, and to his associates with about five hundred, and can manage to transact all his business with his horse in half a dozen. A single sound, with a rising or a falling accent, or a stronger or a weaker emphasis, may express different meanings; and the same sound, repeated twice, thrice, or four times, with the rising or falling accent at the first, second, third or fourth repetition, may contain a whole vocabulary for the simple creatures who emit and understand the sound, and whose wants and emotions are as circumscribed as their speech.

Prof. Max Muller supplies us with an illustration in point. He says that in the Chinese, the Annamitic, and likewise in the Siamese and Burmese languages, one single sound does duty in this way for a great variety of meanings. "Thus," he says, "in Annamite, 'ba,' pronounced with the grave accent, means a lady or an ancestor; pronounced with a sharp accent, it means the favorite of a prince; pronounced with the semi-grave accent, it means what has been thrown away; pronounced with the grave circumflex, it means what is left of a fruit after the juice has been squeezed out; pronounced with no accent, it means three; pronounced with the ascending or interrogative accent, it means a box on the ear. Thus, 'Ba, Ba, Ba,' is said to mean, if properly pronounced, 'Three ladies gave a box on the ear to the favorite of the prince.'"

In our own and in several European languages identical sounds have various meanings. If we consider the subject without prejudice, may we not see reason to think that the "Bow! wow! wow!" of our estimable friend, the dog, may be susceptible of a great variety of meanings, according to the tone and accentuation he gives those fundamental words or syllables of his language, or the number of repetitions either of the "bow" or the "wow?" Sometimes, when a dog barks, he will omit the "bow" altogether, and say "wow! wow! wow!" very sharply and rapidly; and it can be scarcely supposed that so very intelligent a creature has no reason for this little change in his customary phraseology. When I put on my hat and overcoat, and take my walking-stick from its accustomed place in the hall, my dog thinks, and speedily knows, that I am going out; and very plainly asks me, not only by the sudden sparkling of his expressive eyes and the wagging of his equally expressive tail, but by a succession of joyous barks and yelps, whether I mean to take him along with me; and, if I refuse the request, very plainly expresses his sorrow for my decision.

It is difficult to believe that the crow has not two or three, and the nightingale at least a dozen notes in its voice, and that these notes may not, in their interchange, reiteration and succession, express ideas with which crows are familiar, and whole poems and histories, such as nightingales love to tell and repeat to one another; and that any one of the many notes in the sweet song of the skylark may not, according to its accentuation or even to its place in the gamut, express as many shades of meaning as the Annamitic "ba" of which Mr. Max Muller discourses. That we cannot understand the language is no proof that it is not a language; for, if it were, the nations of the earth might accuse each other of being speechless as the brutes. It is quite as difficult for the uneducated and untrained ear—say, of an Englishmen—to distinguish the several sounds uttered by a Frenchman, a Russian, a Spaniard, or a Gaelic Highlander, speaking rapidly, as to distinguish from one another the separate sounds in the song of the lark or the nightingale, or the twitter of the sparrows.

These remarks, speculations, or arguments, whichever the reader may consider them to be, apply only to those sounds at the command of the inferior creation which may, for all we know to the contrary, serve as the constituent syllables of the words which make their language, and not to those other languages of the eye, or the gesture, which human beings with articulate speech at their disposal so constantly employ. The eyes of man or woman, as everybody knows, and has felt, can express love, or hate, or anger, without the necessity of speech; and so may the eyes of all creatures that possess the gift of sense. Gestures and signs, in like manner, as we know, not only by the example of the deaf and dumb, who have been taught the alphabet of the fingers, but by what we may daily witness in the conduct of domestic animals towards each other, may serve largely for the expression of love and hatred. And you and I, dear reader, may never have heard a fly talk to a fly, or a worm to a worm, or been able to make out the language of the birds when they mate about St. Valentine's Day; but the fly may have talked to the fly, the worm to the worm, and the bird to the bird, all the same for our incapacity to hear the talk of the one or understand the song of the other.

A REMINISCENCE OF THAD. STEVENS.

THE EARLY LIFE OF THE "GREAT COMMONER."

SNUGLY nestled among the mountains of northern Vermont lies the good farming town of Peacham. Some years since, the writer, while passing a few months in that hill country, with the pastor of the village, called one day on an aged parishioner, who lived in a small red house in the outskirts of the town. It was during the war, and the wrinkled hands of the good woman were employed in knitting socks for the soldiers. Of course the conversation turned naturally upon the affairs of the country. While talking of the army, the president and Congress, the name of Stevens was mentioned. Instantly the large, black eyes of our hostess brightened, and she said:

"It was over there, on that farm, that Thaddeus Stevens was born;" and she pointed to a gray farm-house, in sight, a mile or more across the hills.

"You knew him, then?" I asked.

"Indeed I did, ma'am!" was the enthusiastic reply. "We used to sit on the same seat, in the old school-house down in the hollow yonder."

It required little questioning to draw from the willing and garrulous old soul, the story of the early life of her former school mate.

"The family were poor," she said, and Mrs. Stevens was one of those hard-working mothers who toil from morning till night, week in, and week out. She would have worked her fingers to the bone, that her boy might get book-learning. Thaddeus was a sickly boy and very lame. Folks never supposed they'd be able to raise him. But they did! Why, I remember him as though I had seen him yesterday. He was still and quick like; different from the rest of boys—and sometimes they'd laugh at him, boy-like, and mimic his limping walk. They didn't mean any harm, but Thaddeus was a sensitive little fellow, and it rankled. I've always thought perhaps that's the reason he has never been back to the old homestead."

"Are any of the family left here?" I asked.

"No, not any near kin. The old folks died many years ago, of course; for I'm an old woman now," and she stopped to heave a sigh over the dead and buried years. "But, deary me! how plain I can see that old school-house. Senath Jones, she was our teacher, and I remember she used to go round and tap us on the head with her thimble finger to make us sit still. 'Pears to me, to this day, that I can feel the dent of Senath Jones's thimble on my head. I wonder if Thaddeus Stevens ever remembers the old times. 'Tain't at all likely. He's had so many other things to think of. I've heard that he's got to be a great man amongst 'em there at Washington."

As I said, four years have passed since the story was told me; and some items of the account have escaped my memory. But I think I shall never lose the impression of that sad, silent boy, plodding wearily and haltingly over those Vermont hills,—smarting under ridicule, and battling with poverty—but full of high resolve in spite of all. Who can tell how much of the power which is felt throughout the nation to-day, may have been wrought into the character of Thaddeus Stevens by the cruel struggle of that early warfare? "The strength of the hills," I thought as I stood that night on the steps of the low farm-house, and saw the sun set behind the Green Mountains, forty miles to the westward, while the crimson flush of the after-glow reddened the white hills whose pyramidal peaks are sharply defined against the sky as many miles to the east. How many men who, a generation hence, are to stand as giants among their kind, are to-day concealed among towering hills? In how many obscure homes a patient woman labors, ready to coin her very life's blood, that the boy of her pride may rise and shine, when her own eyes are closed, and her own toil-hardened hands folded in their last—I almost said their first,—long rest?

J. A. E.

AN INCIDENT.

From the Journal and Courier.

NEW HAVEN, Feb. 1868.

IF the individual who sold a certain amount of liquor to a certain man, on a certain day last week, could have stationed himself some time afterward, on the corner of two of our public streets, he would have witnessed the following scene:

A *something*, which a short time before was a *man*, created in God's image, but which was now worse than a beast, leaned heavily against a fence. Before him stood a woman, well dressed in furs and woolens, and beside her was a charming little girl. The expression of agony and despair upon the countenance of the woman it is impossible to describe. Suddenly she threw her arms passionately into the air, and clasped them around the neck of the maudlin fool, whom she called husband; and she drew his poor foolish head down to her shoulder, and stroked his hair with her loving hand. He made a feeble resistance, but the passionate embrace held him fast. To a distant and silent spectator, the scene was a fearful pantomime. It seemed as if his wife was pointing towards home, and the husband was feebly refusing to be reclaimed. The child wept with terror, but the mother's anguish was too deep for tears. Finally the father raised his head, and started in one direction, but staggered and fell. He was caught on one side by the wife, and on the other was upheld by the child. A tipsy cough and a frenzied attempt to strike the woman, was prevented by an appealing glance from the latter, and she again threw her arms around him, and kissed again and again his bloated features. She loved him just as well now, when he was bloated and fierce, and foolish, as she did when she stood with him at the altar, a happy bride, never dreaming that there would come such an hour of bloody agony as this. She kissed him, and loved him, and pitied him, and never blamed him; but she *cursed* in her heart the wretch who had taken her husband's money that day, and who coaxed him to sell his soul for rum. As she embraced him and pleaded with him, he at last yielded to her entreaties, but as he was too *little* of a *man* and not *enough* of a *beast* to be able to walk *alone*, the wife took one arm and the child the other, and so, supported by the two who loved him now as ever, he staggered on, and on, until he was lost to the view of the spectator.

So you see, if the *individual* who *sold* the liquor to that man on that day, could have stood on the corner at that time, he would have beheld the fruit of his own labors. The above incident is not related because it is an unusual occurrence, but because it happens every day.

SUNNE TINTE.

A CHURCH MADE OUT OF RAGS.—There is a church actually existing near Bergen, Prussia, which can contain nearly one thousand persons. It is circular within, octagonal without. The relievos outside, and the statues within, the roof, the ceiling, the Corinthian capitals, are all of papier-mache, rendered waterproof by saturation in vitriol, lime-water, whey, and white of egg. We have not yet reached this audacity in our use of paper; but it should hardly surprise us, inasmuch as we employ the same material in private houses, in steamboats, and in some public buildings, instead of carved decorations and plaster cornices. When Frederick II. of Prussia set up a limited papier-mache manufactory at Berlin, in 1765, he little thought that paper cathedrals might, within a century, spring out of his snuff-boxes, by the slight-of-hand of art. At present we old fashioned English, who haunt cathedrals and build churches, like stone better. But there is no saying what we may come to. It is not very long since it would have been as impossible to cover eighteen acres with glass as to erect a pagoda with soap bubbles, yet the thing was done. When we think of a psalm sung by 1,000 voices pealing through the edifice made of rags, and the universal element bound down to carry our messages with the speed of light, it would be presumptuous to say what cannot be achieved by science and art under the training of steady old Time.

JOURNALISM IN JAPAN.—The people of the Sandwich Islands are just now extremely interested in Japan, as there is some prospect of a sugar trade springing up between the two countries. The interest seems to be reciprocated. The official journal of Honolulu says:

"We saw, last week, among other articles from Japan, which arrived by the Comet, three numbers of a Japanese newspaper, published in Kanagawa. They are in book form, stitched, and contain some forty pages of closely-printed matter, no doubt interesting and instructive to the Japanese public. There is a division of the matter, apparently into appropriate heads—the commercial and shipping being headed by a woodcut of a small steamer—the foreign news by an elaborate cut of the ocean steamers of the China line—and agriculture by a horse, or a pig, and so on. In one of the numbers appears an article on target-shooting, which is illustrated by a rest, and mathematical lines showing the course of the bullet to the target. The editor is evidently describing to his readers the rules and practices of correct shooting, and the manner of holding the rifle, as another illustration shows the amateur with his piece in his hand. The numbers also contain articles upon Hawaii. These are quite lengthy, and, we are told, treat upon our geographical position, productions, people, and other topics relating to our islands."

BOZ.—Charles Dickens had a little brother, whose ways and modes of speech he associated with those of Moses in Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield," and he jokingly called him by the name of this imaginary prototype. This little boy had a younger sister, who, not being able to talk plain, turned her M's into B's, called her brother "Boz" and "Bozie," instead of "Mose" and "Mosey," and to please this favorite child he chose "Boz" for his *nomme de plume*, the fame of which has now become world-wide. The choice, thus explained, shows his intense love of children, which overflows into so many of his works, to be one of the root-qualities of his being.

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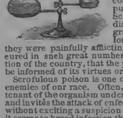

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